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1 – 31 July 1959

Second Series

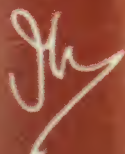
Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

1 – 31 July 1959

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**Selected
works of
Jawaharlal
Nehru**



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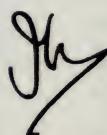
Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

SECOND SERIES

Volume Fifty (1 – 31 July 1959)

Editor

MADHAVAN K. PALAT

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Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund
New Delhi

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FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

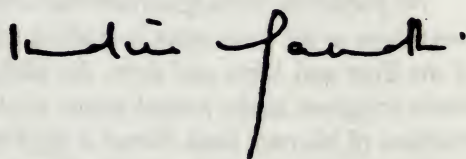
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both

within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.



New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

This volume covers July 1959 when the burgeoning crisis in Kerala seemed to take precedence over all else, even China. Nehru's visit to Kerala has not solved the problem, and letters, memoranda, reports, and telegrams circulate with great intensity. But all the other issues appear with routine regularity, the grievances of Assam, Gurdwara politics and corruption in Punjab, attempts at tackling corruption in general, Nehru's favourite topic of cooperation, and of course China as usual.

Many of the speeches have been transcribed; hence the paragraphing, punctuation, and other such details have been inserted. When no text or recording of a speech was available, a newspaper report has been used as a substitute. Such a newspaper report, once selected for publication, has been reproduced faithfully; other information has been added only by way of annotation. Words and expressions which were inaudible or unintelligible have been shown by an ellipsis between square brackets thus: [...]. The letters to the chief ministers are reproduced from an earlier series, *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, ed. G. Parthasarathi (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1985-1989), 5 vols. Emendations have been made where necessary, but the annotations differ in some respects. Most items here are from Nehru's office copies. In personal letters, and even in official letters composed in personal style to persons like B. C. Roy or Govind Ballabh Pant, the salutation and concluding portions were written by hand; such details are not recorded in the office copy. Therefore these have been inserted in Nehru's customary style for such persons, but the editorial intervention is indicated by square brackets. Information on persons may always be traced through the index if it is not available in the footnote. References to the *Selected Works* appear as SWJN/FS/10/..., to be understood as *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, First Series, Volume 10. In the case of the Second Series, it would be SWJN/SS/.... The part and page numbers follow the volume number.

Documents, which have been referred to as items, are numbered sequentially throughout the volume; footnote numbering however is continuous only within a section, not between sections. A map of the boundary between India and China has been reproduced from White Paper II of 1959 and is placed at the end of the volume.

Nehru's speeches or texts in Hindi have been published in Hindi and a translation into English has been appended in each case for those who might need or want a translation.

A large part of Nehru's archives is housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and is known as the JN Collection. This has been the chief source for items here, and has been made available by Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, the Chairperson of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. Unless otherwise stated, all items are from this collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has been immensely helpful in so many ways, and it is a pleasure to record our thanks to it. The Cabinet Secretariat, the secretariats of the President and Prime Minister, various ministries of the Government of India, All India Radio, the Press Information Bureau, and the National Archives of India, all have permitted us to use material in their possession. We are grateful to *The Hindu*, the *National Herald*, *Shankar's Weekly*, and in particular to R. K. Laxman for permission to reproduce reports and cartoons.

Finally, it is my pleasure to thank those who bore the heavy burden of preparing this volume for publication, most of all Amrit Tandon, helped by Fareena Ikhlas Faridi. The Hindi texts have been prepared by Mohammed Khalid Ansari, and the translation from the Hindi was done by Chandra Chari. Chandra Murari Prasad ably handled all the computer work, including preparing the entire text for the press.

Madhavan K. Palat

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I. GENERAL

(a) Chief Ministers

1. Letter to Chief Ministers¹

2 July, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

I wrote to you last on the eve of the Planning Seminar that was held at Ootacamund.² That seminar was sponsored by the All India Congress Committee, but many eminent persons who are not members of the Congress Party were invited to it and took a very important part in its deliberations. The seminar split up into a number of committees which had long discussions and presented their reports which were considered by the full body. These reports have not been published yet, and only some kind of a general statement was, I think, issued to the press.³

2. The seminar did not presume to lay down any fixed and rigid policy for our next Plan. The main purpose was to discuss the various problems facing us in the context of planning and to make suggestions for consideration. I think that this seminar was eminently helpful and opened out several avenues of thinking. The general impression created was that the problems before us, though difficult, were certainly not incapable of solution. To some extent it dealt with general principles and the ideals we had aimed at, but far the greater part of the discussion was connected with practical approaches. Thus the question of resources was considered in considerable detail and many possibilities were discussed.

1. File No. 25 (30)/59-PM. This letter has also been published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-64*, Vol. 5 (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1989), pp. 262-275.
2. Also known as the Ooty seminar; from 30 May to 4 June 1959. For Nehru's previous letter of 28 May 1959, see SWJN/SS/49/pp. 10-20.
3. The statement of 5 June announced the following objectives, among other, of the Third Five Year Plan: a self-generating economy; stress on agricultural production and capital goods industries; continued expansion of the public sector and regulation of the private sector; resource mobilization of Rs 10,000 crores through savings, taxation, and borrowings; a savings rate of about 14 per cent; a 6 per cent increase in the national income; welfare; and socialism rooted "in the spiritual and cultural values and the traditions of the country".

3. The proceedings of the seminar will now be considered by the Planning Committee of the A.I.C.C. and later by the A.I.C.C. itself. All this is helping in bringing about a practical and well thought out approach to our problems. Obviously the final decisions will have to be taken by Parliament which will consider the Planning Commission's tentative proposals. For the present, even the Planning Commission is not ready with these proposals. But it has given continuous and serious thought to all these various aspects. More particularly, the Perspective Planning Division of the Planning Commission has produced a number of important papers and analyses, sometimes going carefully into details. We do not presume to be experts and to know everything about planning, but I think that there are not many countries which have given so much concentrated thought to planning in an under-developed country as we have done in India.

4. While this carefully thought out approach is taking place, there is, on the other hand, an argument going on about rural cooperatives. This argument is largely confined to the press and to some individuals. My own impression of the public mind generally, and more especially the peasant's mind, is that the great majority of them has welcomed the approach to cooperatives. Sometimes there is a little doubt as to what all this means and where it may lead one to, but wherever this has been explained, a good and favourable impression has been created.

5. I have often wondered why there should be this ferocity of attack on what are called the Nagpur resolutions of the Congress.⁴ A new Party⁵ has been formed under the distinguished leadership of Shri C. Rajagopalachari and a few Congressmen have spoken in support of it.⁶ It is astonishing that any one in the modern age should oppose cooperatives. The opposition is really against

4. In January 1959, the Nagpur Congress session adopted the following resolution on introducing new cooperatives within a year: "The future agrarian pattern should be that of co-operative joint farming, in which the land will be pooled for joint cultivation, the farmers continuing to retain their property rights, and getting a share from the net produce in proportion to their land. Further, those who actually work the land, whether they own the land or not, will get a share in proportion to the work put in by them on the joint farm." See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 173-174.
5. On 4 June in Madras, C. Rajagopalachari presided over a meeting of the All India Agricultural Federation which decided to form a Conservative party to oppose the Congress; the next day he announced its name: "Swatantra." The party was inaugurated in Bombay on 1 August 1959.
6. Congressmen like N.G. Ranga and Minoo Masani had by this time joined the Swatantra Party. Masani was already an ex-Congressman; in 1957 he had been elected to the Lok Sabha as an Independent from Bihar.

something else, and even in regard to cooperatives, our opponents go on saying something which is manifestly not true. Thus they say that this is the first step to collectives; that there is going to be compulsion, that farmers will be expropriated, and so on. Many of us have made it perfectly clear that there is no question of compulsion and certainly not of collectives. The whole idea of cooperatives is based on the voluntary principle. Any attempt to compel people is bound to lead to failure. In any event, we are concentrating now on service cooperatives, though we have made it clear that we would like the next step to be that of collective farming,⁷ with the ownership of the farmer remaining intact.

6. As a matter of fact, I have been discouraging, to some extent, an eager rush towards collective farming.⁸ I have explained that this requires training and unless there are trained persons, it would be unwise to take it up. We must concentrate, therefore, on training. I have suggested that the first step in cooperative farming, apart from training, should be the selection of a number of villages in India where, conditions being favourable and the people willing, cooperative farms may be started. That will be a practical demonstration, and its results will, no doubt, influence the peasantry.

7. A year or two ago, there was considerable argument about the size of these rural cooperatives. Some people were of opinion that a viable cooperative should be a fairly large one comprising about twenty villages or so; others were firmly attached to each village having a cooperative. Broadly speaking, this debate has ended in favour of the village cooperative, though some exceptions have been envisaged.⁹ There is now a tendency to suggest that the cooperative might be even smaller than the village, that is, there might be more than one cooperative in a village. I see that one of our eminent economists has suggested this. Only three days ago, I was present at a large conference of panches and sarpanches from various parts of the Punjab.¹⁰ Instead of speaking

7. C.R. Srinivasan, Nehru's Private Secretary, had issued a "correction slip" on 4 July 1959 to replace the typing error "collective" with "cooperative," and "collective farming" with "cooperative farming" in the first sentence of the subsequent paragraph.

8. See the previous fn.

9. The Second Five Year Plan favoured large cooperative societies as recommended by the Rural Credit Survey Committee of the Reserve Bank of India in 1954. Smaller, village cooperatives were proposed by: Sir Malcolm Darling, an ex-registrar of cooperative societies in Punjab, in 1957; the conference on community development in May 1958; and the National Development Council in November 1958. In May 1959, the National Development Council opted for smaller cooperatives.

10. The conference took place in Rai village, near Sonapat, in Rohtak district, on 28 June.

to them, I invited them to tell us what their views were and their difficulties. The gathering was a very representative one. There was almost unanimous approval of the idea of cooperative farming. Oddly enough, one of the points raised was if there could be a cooperative in part of a village. There seemed to be some considerable opinion in favour of this.

8. Conditions differ so much in various parts of the country that any rigid rule or attempt at uniformity does not appear to be desirable. The broad principle should be accepted and applied according to circumstances and the wishes of the people concerned. I do not see any reason why, where necessary, a village should not have more than one cooperative.

9. The Punjab, more than any State, is a land of very sturdy and tough peasant proprietors. Generally speaking, they have more land per capita than elsewhere in India. It came to me, therefore, as a welcome surprise how these representatives of the peasant farmers from all over the State spoke enthusiastically about cooperatives and even went further and favoured cooperative farming. If that is so in the Punjab, then it is likely to be even more so in other parts of India where the holdings are smaller.

10. To come back to the new Swatantra Party. I think that the formation of this Party is all to the good. It clarifies the atmosphere and makes people think more clearly. Most of our political parties, including the Congress, tend to become rather amorphous in their thinking. Where the principal aim was independence, this did not matter much, but where we have to consider economic and social problems, it is desirable to have greater clarity and precision. This process is hastened by the formation of the Swatantra Party even though the Party is singularly lacking in possessing clear ideas. It is a negative Party and its chief urge is just opposition to any kind of social or economic reform and, more particularly, dislike of the Congress. The name suggested by it at first by Rajaji,¹¹ that is, "Conservative Party", was probably more appropriate, but names do not make much difference; it is the content that counts, and the content of this is to prevent change and hold fast to existing institutions. The future frightens it and the reaction, therefore, is to hold on to the old with the passion that often accompanies old vested interests. No one belonging to this Party has, to my knowledge, put forward any positive or constructive proposal to deal with the present economic situation in India.

11. Such a Party has obviously no future in India. It is merely a diversion. It will attract some of the conservative elements, including the communal organisations and, of course, some of the bigger vested interests in land or industry. It will probably play on some of the deep-rooted conservative instincts

11. Rajaji is C. Rajagopalachari.

of people and bring religion into the picture. It will avoid any sustained argument as to what should be done. Not for it is the kind of organised thinking which was represented at the Ootacamund Seminar.

12. I have written to you previously about the urgency of our trying to reclaim usar or saline lands and pointed out that this can be done without any great expenditure. We do not require bulldozers and heavy machines for this purpose. It is a relatively simple operation which pays dividends quickly. Food production in India can be made to grow at a rapid pace if we bring these millions of acres into cultivation. Our Food and Agriculture Ministry has appointed a committee to go into this matter of usar lands.¹² That is good but there is no reason why we should wait for the recommendations of this committee. One considerable advantage of bringing these new lands under cultivation is that we can give them to landless labour in many places.

13. In the course of our discussions at Ootacamund, emphasis was laid on one aspect of our development schemes; this was economy in construction. Some time back, there was an inquiry on behalf of the Planning Commission on this subject.¹³

All these inquiries have led to the result that we can easily save large sums of money on construction. We adhere to old designs and practices which have been discarded in other countries. We use too much of steel. Even Mr. Khrushchev, when he came here,¹⁴ pointed this out to us. We have too many and too thick walls when smaller partition should be adequate. We have unnecessary embellishments. It has been calculated that an immediate saving can be made of 15 per cent of the cost of construction and probably this would be even greater with an effort. Our building of large hospitals is peculiarly out of date and unnecessarily expensive.

14. Recently, there was considerable distress in Calcutta and parts of Bengal over the availability and price of foodgrains. There was even a one-day general strike to express people's resentment.¹⁵ The West Bengal Government removed some of its controls and almost immediately foodgrains flowed into the market and relieved the situation. This showed up that it is not lack of foodgrains so much as a measure of hoarding, chiefly by farmers, that created that scarcity.

12. The Wastelands Survey and Reclamation Committee on location and utilisation of wastelands was appointed on 28 June 1959.

13. The S.K. Patil committee on materials costs and consumption in buildings construction submitted its report in June 1958.

14. 7 to 14 December 1955.

15. On 21 June 1959.



DR. B.C.ROY HAS PLEADED FOR
RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF ROADS
BEFORE THE NEXT
FOOD AGITATION.

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 5 JULY 1959)

It is undoubtedly true that our food production during the last two seasons has been good and has touched 73 million tons, the highest on record. But this does not mean that food is easily available everywhere. In West Bengal especially, the production was a little less than in the previous year. Even that was kept back by the farmers in the hope probably of getting higher prices. The question thus becomes one of proper administration and not so much of lack of foodgrains.

15. You must have heard of the tremendous and terrible floods that have descended upon Assam, more especially in the Cachar and Kamrup Districts.¹⁶ No one yet knows what the ultimate damage will be, but it is bound to be very great. The first problem for us to face has been to rescue and to feed the people who have been completely isolated by these floods. Our Army and Air Force have gone into action and rendered very valuable assistance. This great calamity demands help from all over India. The Governor of Assam¹⁷ has opened a relief fund, and I hope that people everywhere will contribute to it generously.

16. I went to Jabalpur recently¹⁸ to be present on the occasion of the first military truck coming out of the Ordnance Factory there.¹⁹ This was a fine truck and it was heartening to see the enthusiasm of the engineers and other workers who had built it. The contract with a German firm for this construction was entered into in September last. It took three or four months to get things going and to prepare for the manufacture of the truck. Since then work was done with rapidity, and now new trucks are rolling out at the rate, I think, of over three a day. The monthly production figure is over a hundred and this can easily be increased. Even at this initial stage, 37 per cent of the truck is manufactured in India. Next year it will be 50 per cent and gradually it will reach 90 per cent or more. This is a fine piece of work doing great credit to our

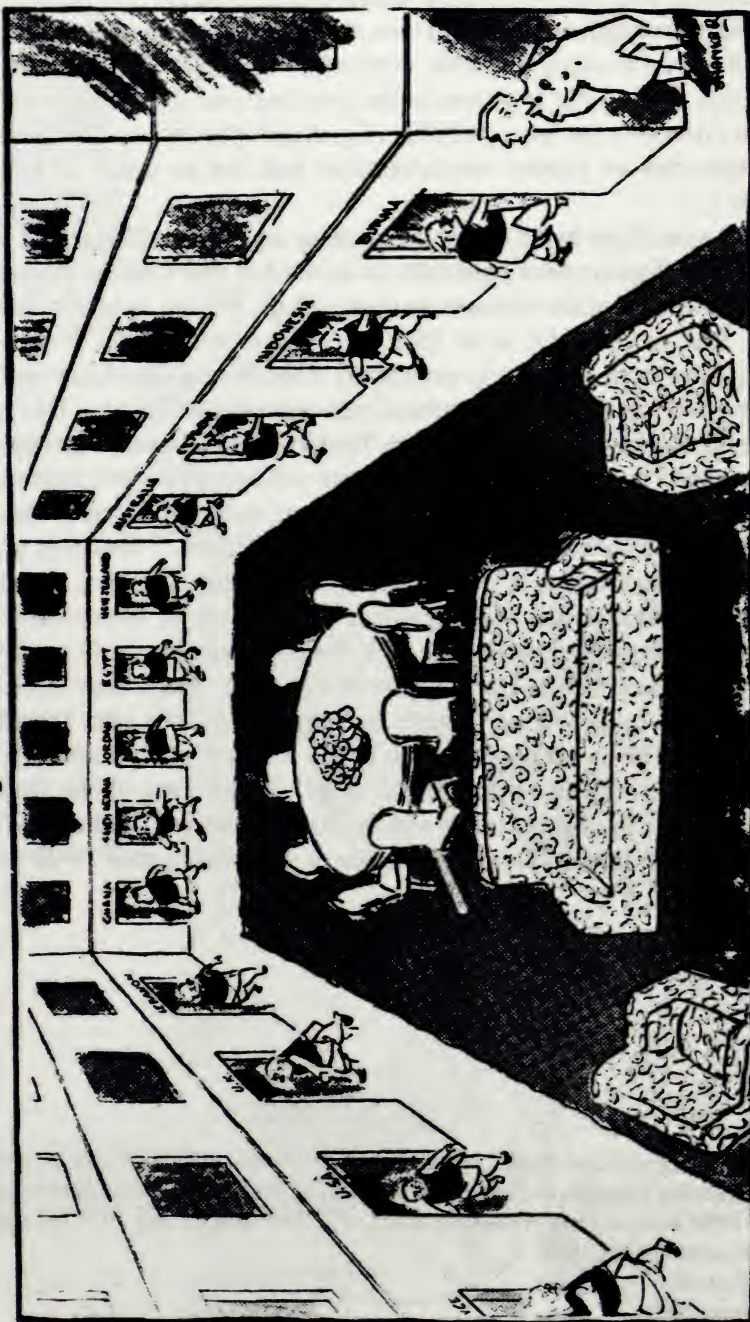
16. Severe flooding affected about 1,400 square miles, destroyed 22,000 houses, and left 152,000 families homeless in Cachar, Kamrup and Lakhimpur. See *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 28 June 1959, and Congress President's letter to PCC Presidents, 7 July 1959, in *Congress Bulletin*, June-August, 1959.

17. Saiyid Fazl Ali.

18. On 21 June 1959.

19. A project of the Gun Carriage Factory; the trucks were christened "Shaktiman."

Diplomatic Enclave



The Tibetan question has taken Mr. Jayaprakash Narain from embassy to embassy in Delhi

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 5 JULY 1959)

Army engineers and technicians. I do not know of any private firm which can rival this record in speed or efficiency.

17. Some little time ago, the Dalai Lama held a press conference in Mussoorie, and made a strong and moving statement about Tibet.²⁰ It was not at our instance that he made it and I saw it only when it appeared in the newspapers. There are some parts of that statement which might have created wrong impressions in the minds of people. Soon after, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan delivered various speeches and issued some statements on Tibet.²¹ I am afraid we do not agree with much that Shri Jayaprakash Narayan has said. We have made it clear that we do not and cannot recognise any separate Government of Tibet under the leadership of the Dalai Lama here. We do not understand also how it is feasible for the matter to be raised in the United Nations when the UN does not even recognise the People's Government of China, and more or less treats it as a hostile country. The UN cannot have it both ways, to ignore China and at the same time to condemn it.

18. I now come to a very important and distressing development in India, that is Kerala.²² I went there recently and spent three days in Trivandrum.²³ I do not think any one who has not been to Kerala recently can form a full picture of the state of affairs there. I found something approaching hysteria. Strong passions had been roused and, in effect, Kerala is divided into two solid groups, those opposing and those supporting the Kerala State Government. There is no real contact between them and there are practically no neutrals left. Quite apart from the background of this agitation, or the merits of any dispute, the major fact is of this bitter conflict between these solid groups. It was

20. On 20 June, the Dalai Lama said that repression in Tibet subverted their culture and violated the Sino-Tibetan agreement of 1951 which, even if signed under duress, was still an agreement between two sovereign states. He added that he had returned from India in 1956 on Nehru's advice and had always advocated a peaceful settlement with China which should guarantee the "maintenance of the status and the rights of our State and people exercised prior to 1950."

21. Jayaprakash Narayan called upon the Government to recognise the Dalai Lama's Government, raise the Tibetan issue in the United Nations, and exert moral pressure on China to stop her expansionist policy. On 26 June, he met the diplomatic representatives of Burma, Indonesia, Ghana, Ceylon and Vietnam and discussed with them the possibility of setting up an Asian-African committee on Tibet to mobilise world opinion in favour of Tibet.

22. See SWJN/SS/49/pp. 261-291.

23. From 22 to 25 June 1959.

WAY OUT



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 1 JULY 1959)

difficult to reason or to convince anyone of the necessity for moderation in language and action. The whole trend was towards more bitter conflict

structure. As for picketing, this has two histories. One is connected with labour strikes and is well known in Western countries. In our country, during our freedom struggle, picketing was resorted to on occasions against foreign cloth or liquor. The present picketing going on in Kerala is not at all to my liking. So far as schools are concerned, I am strongly opposed to picketing by boys and girls to prevent others from attending them. I am equally strongly opposed to the type of picketing which means stopping transport vehicles by lying down in front of them. Indeed this is hardly picketing.

22. The third kind of picketing that has taken place in Kerala is what is called "token picketing" before Collectors' offices. I dislike this also, and I think it was unfortunate that this was started. I must say that by and large this picketing has been peaceful. I would add though that I have seldom come across such unrestrained language as is used in the Kerala newspapers and in public speeches there. I was deeply pained to read this.

23. Having started this picketing of Collectors' offices in the strained and highly electric atmosphere of Kerala, a new situation was created. I would have liked this picketing to be withdrawn completely, but I realised that any such firm direction may well have led not to a stoppage of that picketing but its continuation in a wholly irresponsible manner without any restraint or order and in a much larger way. That was a practical problem that faced us. Sometimes theory has to be limited by practice. The advice we ventured to give was that on no account should there be any picketing of schools or of transport vehicles. In regard to Collectors' offices, an attempt should be made gradually to withdraw it and to divert people's energies in some other form of peaceful agitation. I recognised that this was some kind of a compromise but in the circumstances existing in Kerala, I could think of no other way.

24. Even our advice relating to the stoppage of picketing of schools and transport buses has not been followed by some groups. This is unfortunate. I hope, however, that gradually it will seep into people's minds that these methods should be given up. Meanwhile the situation in Kerala continues to be difficult and always on the verge of a worse development. I am particularly distressed at children and boys and girls being involved in it. I would hope that the proposal made to have general elections will be accepted by the people concerned and would lead to a stoppage of the present forms of agitation and a diversion to what might be called the normal election campaign.²⁸

28. See E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Chief Minister of Kerala, to Nehru, 7 July 1959, Appendix 17.

25. To come to more pleasant topics. Recently I visited Chail,²⁹ a beautiful mountain resort in the Punjab, where a new institute has been started.³⁰ On my way, I stopped at a Children's Holiday Home which, I think, is controlled by the Indian Council for Child Welfare. There is another such Home at Taradevi near Simla. Very fine houses have been placed at the disposal of these Homes, one of them belonging to the Maharaja of Patiala.³¹ The Punjab Government has helped greatly. Hundreds of children from the lower income groups are brought there to spend a month and it was delightful to see these boys and girls enjoying themselves among these mountains.

26. There are other such Holiday Homes also, one of them being at Mount Abu. I would draw your particular attention to this scheme for Holiday Homes for children. There are, I suppose, many old palaces and big houses in various parts of the country which are not being used by their owners and which indeed are a bit of a burden on them. It might be possible for them to be induced to give these old palaces and houses for Children's Holiday Homes. The cost of maintenance need not be great and the resultant in happy and healthy children would be tremendous. It might be possible to share these Holiday Homes partly with the Youth Hostel Movement or Scouts and Guides. There are also large properties in many hill stations which are long unused or are only used for a month or two in a year. I commend this proposal to your earnest attention.

27. I have not referred to international events in this letter, chiefly because I do not know what to say about them. The Geneva talks between the Foreign Ministers have been suspended.³² There will be another meeting within two weeks' time. At present, the two sides stand apart and there appears to be no meeting ground. What the next effort will bring, I do not know, but it must be remembered that the outlook is a very serious one and the prospect of war and peace in the future depends upon this.

28. I am sorry to say that I do not feel very fresh and my mind is a little stale. My health is quite good, but I do feel that some kind of a change and rest will do me good. I am, therefore, thinking of going to Kashmir for a week.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

29. On 19 and 20 June 1959.

30. The Self-Culture Institute; see also SWJN/SS/49/item 11, p. 130.

31. Yadavendra Singh.

32. The foreign ministers of USA, UK, France, and USSR deliberated from 11 May to 29 June 1959 over the future of Berlin and Germany, adjourned, and resumed their meetings on 13 July.

(b) The Press

2. Press Conference³³

Subjects suggested for discussion:

Kerala

Correspondence with President

Your reported letter to the Chief Ministers regarding your feeling “stale”³⁴

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is nothing. I said in my letter that I was feeling a little tired and was going off to hills for a week.

Cooperative farming

Dalai Lama

Pakistan's debt to India.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot discuss a matter like that. The Finance Ministers are going to discuss it in a short time.³⁵ I say some things are pretty obvious. One is that the national debt, pre-partition debt, was taken over entirely by India on condition that the Pakistan part of it would be paid back to India after five years, a moratorium of five years. But nothing has been paid back.³⁶ Then there are other charges to be paid by one country to another, then other minor things which have to be considered separately. I cannot go further than this. I do not understand.

Question: The Pakistan Finance Minister asserts that it is Pakistan which has to get money from India.³⁷

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is a question you should ask the Pakistan Finance Minister. I do not understand it. How can I answer?

33. 7 July 1959. File No. 43 (73)/59 -PMS. Also available in AIR tapes, NMML.

34. See item 1, paragraph 28.

35. Discussion between the Finance Ministers of India and Pakistan took place in New Delhi from 31 July to 2 August.

36. In the budget of 1950-51, the debt was Rs 300 crores; it was unchanged in 1959, as no interest was added.

37. M. Shoaib, the Finance Minister of Pakistan, had alleged that India owed Rs 180 crores.

Question: There has been a major breakdown in the Kargali coal washery,³⁸ the biggest coal washery in India which Pandit Pant,³⁹ inaugurated last April.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am afraid I do not know enough to answer any such question. I am not fully acquainted.

Question: Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's views on Tibet.⁴⁰ He said you and ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: Shri Jayaprakashji has expressed his views about Tibet. What am I to say about it except that I do not wholly agree with him?

Question: What about your letter to Pandit Sunderlal?⁴¹ He says that you consider Jayaprakash's activities as embarrassing to the Government of India.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I wrote a letter to Pandit Sunderlal in reply to his letter.⁴² I do not remember my exact words. I was surprised that Pandit Sunderlal should flourish it about in public, the letter I wrote to him. I think I did write that some of the things that Jayaprakashji said were according to my thinking unfortunate. I do not argue.

Question: Rajaji's remarks about the Congress Party.⁴³

Question: President's letter to you.⁴⁴

38. In Bokaro, Jharkhand; established in 1959 with Japanese help.

39. Govind Ballabh Pant, the Union Home Minister.

40. See item 1, here p. 9

41. See Nehru to Pandit Sunderlal, President of the India-China Friendship Association, 28 June 1959, SWJN/SS/49/item 313.

42. See Pandit Sunderlal to Nehru, 16 June 1959, SWJN/SS/49/Appendix 24.

43. At a public meeting at Wadala, Bombay, on 5 July, C. Rajagopalachari regretted that the Congress, "by the unchallenged exercise of power over the past few years, had become utterly corrupt," that "monopoly of power had led the Congress to disregard the aspirations of the common man and it had essentially become a party, which refused to infuse new blood into the organisation..." *National Herald*, 6 July 1959.

44. Rajendra Prasad to Nehru, 7 June 1959; see Valmiki Choudhary (ed.), *Dr. Rajendra Prasad: Correspondence and Select Documents*, Vol. XIX (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1993), pp. 112-122. Nehru replied the same day; see SWJN/SS/49/item 3.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That has been mentioned. To take this subject up about the President's letter. Because some of our friends in the press commit an indiscretion in publishing a confidential document,⁴⁵ you would expect me to commit further indiscretion in discussing it (laughter). I am not going to discuss it, but I tell you this. President himself is somewhat unhappy at all this fuss made about his letter. I see him frequently and we discuss naturally current matters, current developments and sometimes he writes to me, sometimes I write to him. This practice has gone on for years and years. It was nothing suddenly new happening, his writing to me, except that this letter, or part of it I forget, got into the press. Always we welcome [this]. Sometimes when he writes to me I circulate his letters to members of the Cabinet for their information. Sometimes, we have, in the past few years, discussed a particular matter that he may have mentioned to me. It is a normal practice.

I saw a kind of a discussion about constitutional aspects and powers, etc.⁴⁶ I don't think there is any room for discussion on that subject. That is quite clear, according to our Constitution, that is, the Constitution makes the President rather like, I may say so, the constitutional King or Queen of England. If that was not so, you will see, the whole question of responsibility of a Cabinet to Parliament would suffer. Parliament is supreme. A Cabinet is supposed to have the confidence of the majority in Parliament and is responsible to it. If it loses that confidence, it ceases to function. People get mixed up a little here with what is called the Presidential system in the United States. Our system is not the Presidential system but the Cabinet system, the closest parallel being that in the United Kingdom. So the question does not arise in a legal form. Of course, quite apart from the Constitution and powers, any person in the position of a President is bound to be an outstanding person in India. That is obvious, any person, much more so a person who has played such a very great role in our freedom struggle and movement; and one always likes to consult him to

45. Press reports appeared on 18 June.

46. The article "The President's Letter", by "Touchstone" in *The Hindustan Times* of 25 June 1959, stated: "To discuss pettily or pompously the constitutional propriety of the President's reported letter to the Prime Minister, suggesting that certain policies of the Government might be reviewed, is to quibble. Whether that letter should have been written or not is a matter which those between whom the correspondence took place were quite competent to determine and the Prime Minister's own reply does not of course give a handle to those who would stir up unfruitful controversies It is perhaps fair to say that that was the kind of letter which Dr Rajendra Prasad would have written whether he was President or not Dr Rajendra Prasad is one of the few elder statesmen of the Congress Party left to advise Mr Nehru frankly and boldly and, if need be, remonstrate with him"

find out his reactions and his advice. That is a different matter, of course; but the responsibility rests, naturally, entirely on the Government which is responsible to Parliament, which, in its own way, is responsible to the vast electorate.

Question: With due respect to the President, it is a well-known fact that Rajendra Prasadji is a very orthodox person and by now it is well known that during the first Parliament he organised an opposition within your Cabinet for the postponement of the Hindu Code Bills.⁴⁷ Are we going to have the same spectacle, now that fundamental economic reforms are being enunciated, that these too will have to be postponed by five years or more?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Some of the "well-known" facts our friend has mentioned were not known to me (laughter).

Question: That is a tribute to Rajendra Prasadji.

Question: Is it not a fact that in 1951, when the Hindu Code Bills were being enunciated in Parliament, the President wrote to you saying that these should be postponed and that they should actually be taken up only after the general elections?⁴⁸

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not going to enter into these matters. It is not proper for me to discuss what the President may have written or may have said to me. Because the moment I enter into that, I get caught up in disclosing confidential and secret matters which I should not. It is not fair to the President nor is it fair to me. Naturally, President has sometimes – not often – the President has differed from us and has written or spoken to us about it, but it is completely wrong, sometimes accusing the President of organising something in the Cabinet. It is completely wrong. He does not deal with these matters at all. I may say, since you refer to Hindu Bill, the question of postponing the original measure that Dr Ambedkar⁴⁹ had brought had nothing to do with the President's intervention. It was because we felt that in the form in which it was brought,

47. On the Hindu Code Bill, see SWJN/SS/16 pt II/pp. 377-395 and SWJN/SS/18/pp. 193-194.

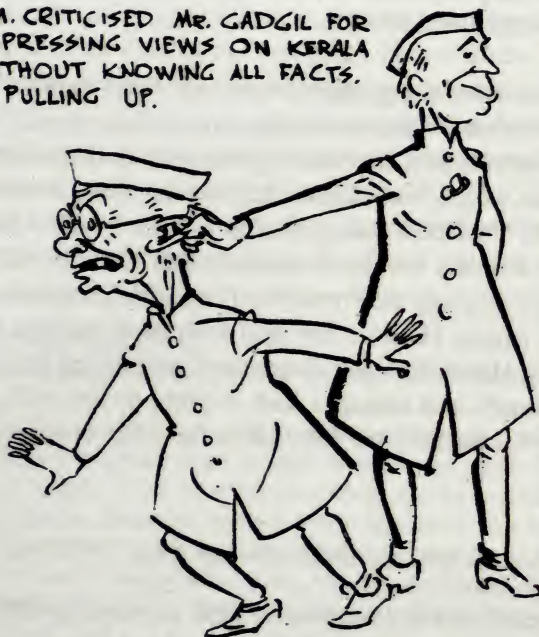
48. Rajendra Prasad's note of 15 September 1951 to Nehru; see SWJN/SS/16 pt II/pp. 384-385.

49. B.R. Ambedkar, Union Law Minister, 1947-51.



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 26 JULY 1959)

P.M. CRITICISED MR. GADGIL FOR
EXPRESSING VIEWS ON KERALA
WITHOUT KNOWING ALL FACTS.
PULLING UP.



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 12 JULY 1959)

that is, in the huge tome, it would take years and years to get it through Parliament with thousands of amendments. Therefore, we decided to make a different approach, separating it into three or four separate Bills which could be got through one at a time. Taking up the whole thing, we would have gone on and on indefinitely. That was done with very good results. The Bills were passed separately and, in fact, practically the whole of the important matter in the original Bill was brought in with some minor variations.

Question: I want to know whether the President's opposition is going to stand in the way of these fundamental economic reforms.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Please do not bring the President in this matter. President does not come in the way. He is a constitutional President; he does not oppose or come in the way of anything. Naturally, as a senior veteran in the struggle, we ourselves go to him for his advice, for discussion, but the responsibility for decisions is that of the Cabinet, not of the President. Nothing is going to be postponed in the way you suggest. I do not know what particular matter you are suggesting, what particular measure we had in our legislation. At the present moment nothing new in the way of legislation is pending in Parliament on these issues. We are still working out the details of the Third Five Year Plan and the Plan will come up at the end of this year or maybe the beginning of the next year – the draft. Discussions are going on and whatever views people have will be expressed in Parliament and outside. Please do not bring in the name of the President. It is not fair to him.

Shall we go on to the next subject? Now, what about Kerala?

Question: Do you agree with the views of Mr Gadgil,⁵⁰ the Governor of Punjab? How far it is proper for a constitutional head of a state, like the Governor, to express views on political questions which do not concern his state but concern another state?

50. *The Tribune* of 6 July quoted N.V. Gadgil as having said on 4 July at Jullundur that the Kerala ministry was "fully entitled to continue in office for five years unless it was voted out or it resigned of its own accord." He also warned against holding fresh elections in Kerala under the existing circumstances when feelings ran so high. Gadgil further said, "What is at stake in Kerala is not the fate of Mr Namboodiripad or of the Congress but the very fundamentals of democracy on which we stand. It seems that even before democracy has taken deep roots in this country we are trying to uproot it." On 25 July, Rajendra Prasad asked Gadgil to avoid talking in public about controversial matters, "particularly when they relate to subjects with which we are not immediately concerned." See Valmiki Choudhary (ed.), *Dr. Rajendra Prasad*, Vol. XIX, pp. 136-137.

You Said It

By LAXMAN



Boys, it is no use continuing our demonstration in this rain — I suggest we go home and charge-sheet the Government!

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 15 JULY 1959)

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, it is not a happy precedent, both for the reason you have mentioned and, secondly, because it is never wise to express opinions without a fairly intimate study of the facts of the situation because opinions cannot be divorced from the factual situation.

Question: Could you give us your views as to when a democratically elected government can be charge-sheeted and when mid-term elections can be held or should be held?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Are these theoretical propositions you wish me to answer?

So far as Kerala is concerned, there is nothing unconstitutional and, in fact, it is strictly constitutional, obviously. Whether it is desirable in the set of circumstances or not, is another question, but, obviously, it is strictly constitutional and there is no question of the Constitution being involved in it. In fact, when I go to Kerala and, in the circumstances, advise the Kerala Government, that it would be a good thing if they resigned and had elections, the question of constitutional position does not arise at all.

I do not wish to enter into a discussion on this. It is a very difficult situation which, I might tell you, has not been considered by our Government formally at all yet. I have on the last occasion just reported to them about my visit and the situation as I found it. That matter has not been considered by them yet. It will no doubt be considered. It is important enough.

Question: The Congress High Command let the Kerala Congress, which is in opposition, to draw up a charge-sheet. That is why I want to know how far you agree or countenance such an action on the part of the Opposition against a democratically elected government, because certain events of that type may soon follow in other states.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not quite see what I can say about the Congress High Command. First of all, it is not for me to answer on behalf of the Congress High Command. Technically speaking, I am not even a member of either the Working Committee or the Parliamentary Board. It is true I am invited and we confer. But the question of a charge-sheet getting the blessings, that is not clear to me. Normally speaking, naturally, this kind of thing should not be done. This business of charge-sheet, if you will remember, has been talked about for the last year in Parliament and elsewhere and it is vaguely hanging there in Parliament still. I do not wish to deal with this very intricate and difficult human issue, apart from political and others, in this, rather small and limited way.

JULY 5, 1959

SHANKAR'S WEEKLY



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 5 JULY 1959)

When I went to Kerala,⁵¹ the overwhelming impression that I got was of people—and people meaning not individuals only but large masses of people—in a state of very high excitement, bordering on hysteria, all kinds of people. I have seldom been in such an atmosphere in spite of having seen odd kinds of movement. The excitement was hysterical. It is very difficult to sit down and argue quietly or peacefully. This was the background and this impressed me greatly. I was in search for some way of possibly lessening this tension, because if this kind of thing went on it grows worse and worse as incidents occur, police firing occurs, demands for enquiry, fresh firing; it goes on in a vicious circle.

Now, regardless of the merit of any particular thing that happens, there was this extraordinary atmosphere to be dealt with. It was solid, solid in two ways: a solid psychological group or groups on one side, and another on the other, with no connecting links, nothing. Now, you cannot deal with this situation normally by some kind of merely good advice. The facts were there. And I felt that this would continue. It does not matter what happens, whether the Government suppresses this type of agitation which itself is not an easy matter when it is so widespread, or whether the Government becomes more and more feeble to deal with it; either way it is very unfortunate and I do not like that. So I felt that perhaps having recourse to elections might lessen that tension. Any recourse to elections is always democratic. It is going back to democracy. Even the Constitution has laid down that elections may take place if the Constitution cannot be carried on properly. And normally that is judged by a majority and a minority in the Legislature. That is perfectly right. You cannot go to the people and you should not every time. It is not right. Government should have a chance. But dealing with this very peculiar and difficult situation, it did seem to me – and even from the point of view of the Kerala Government – that if some kind of opening was given to people's minds, namely, there will be an election, well, all this temperature may go down. That was my advice to the Kerala Government.

I made another approach, a parallel one, which was that one or two points in dispute like the Education Act might be discussed with those in opposition. Some people say these are contradictory approaches. But I do not think they were contradictory. They are rather parallel approaches, each aiming at the lessening of tension and then consideration of those questions in the proper way through elections, whatever the ways are. I realise, of course, that it is not easy to discuss anything with trouble in the streets all the time. In this

51. See fn 23 in this section.

atmosphere that becomes a vicious circle. You must take a step to lessen that tension in order to have those questions considered properly. That was what I said there.

Since I have talked about the Education Bill, I might mention that it was not my intention that the whole of the Education Bill should be suspended, but that the controversial clauses in it. There is no point in suspending the non-controversial clauses, and especially some which have been welcomed by almost everybody, those relating, for instance, to certain privileges given to teachers, etc. So that was not my intention, and I am rather sorry that that suggestion of mine has not been given effect to. I realise – and I said that – that unless we break through this wall of conflict and all that, it is difficult to get going. Something has to be done about it. And those were my suggestions for it.

Question: Will you agree in such circumstances – where you think that the Government has lost the confidence of the people or there is ferment – to have a system of recall whereby a substantial section may recall the government.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, that would involve a major constitutional amendment. Normally speaking, I would not agree. I do not say that I rule it out. In a country like Switzerland, for instance, I believe there is some such thing, in some places. But the danger to that is, they are in a background in some countries, there would be little stability of a government functioning for long. In theory, in a democratic theory, the system of recall is a good thing but, in practice, unless a country is, if I may say so, highly politically stable, it will probably lead to constant controversies and no government having much of a chance to go ahead.

Question: The question an ordinary citizen in Kerala asks is: If he is not given the ordinary protection, if he is not a Communist, from the Government and the police for his person and property, what remedy would you suggest?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I don't know what answer to give you. I was overwhelmed with telegrams when I was in Kerala and also here from all kinds of people, this way and that way, complaining kind of complaints you have made. What can I say except that the situation is the natural outcome of the present situation there? One cannot deal with a situation like this by constant firings by the police nor in my opinion should it be dealt with by this kind of picketing that is going on. I should like to make clear about my views and of my colleagues in Government or the Congress about picketing, although I am speaking for myself. All of us are very greatly opposed to this kind of picketing there. We are opposed

to it. We have consistently and repeatedly said that we are opposed to the picketing of schools and of buses, transport, vehicles, etc. But it is true that the Kerala Congress started what it called "token picketing" of government offices. That consisted of five persons being sent to an office and the five persons being arrested and there the matter ending for that day. The next day they sent another five. To the best of my knowledge this particular token of picketing of government offices has not only been quite peaceful but there has been no incident. The incidents have occurred in regard to other things. Now, we did not like this picketing of Government offices also, even the token picketing. But I want to tell you quite frankly the difficulty we faced. In this surcharged atmosphere of Kerala, if after it had begun, without our information – it began without our information because we did not know, suddenly stopping it, I am talking about the token picketing, we felt that it would not stop; the organised way of doing it might stop and the Kerala Congress might withdraw, but that would become disorderly and just odd people doing it in an odd way, which is much worse, leading to incidents. That was our problem. Because of the deep passions involved there, one could not switch on and switch off these things like that without considering certain consequences.

So our advice all along has been, first of all, this picketing of Government offices is a bad thing; it is a bad approach. But we realised that in the way it was done, it was very limited, controlled and peaceful, and nothing happened. Nevertheless, basically it is a bad thing and because basically we thought it was a bad thing, we wanted it stopped, realising, however, that to stop it suddenly might lead to popular action on those lines without any control. We did not want to do that. Our advice has been: First, do not allow this to grow – because the original programme was there: after a few days, after ten days, it was to become mass picketing. We said: No mass picketing at all. Secondly, try to wind it up, lessen it, try to divert the people's energy – you can't bottle it up – into whatever it is, meetings, processions, etc., but not this. This has been our advice, and chiefly because we did not wish this kind of tremendous popular feeling to go into entirely uncontrolled directions. That was a fact and if you ask me for a theoretical answer, I will say I am entirely opposed to this kind of picketing; I am and so all of us. In fact, to have little token things just manages to keep people's minds away from other forms of action which were worse we thought. We opposed completely the other things, the schools picketing and the picketing of transport vehicles. May I add here that by opposition to this school picketing and the transport picketing, we did not mean some kind of passive form of non-participation? I am sorry that although the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee has dissociated itself from that, it is true, I think, that a number of individual Congressmen have been taking part in it, school picketing

I mean, which I think was unfortunate. They should not do that. In fact, the Kerala Congress and Congressmen should try to discourage the school picketing business and the picketing of buses to the best of their ability [and] try to induce others not to indulge in it because we feel it is a basically bad thing to do. It is bad for our young boys and girls to bring them into this arena of conflict.

Question: Sir, the impression we get from the daily papers is that President's rule is round the corner so far as Kerala is concerned. That is how the opposition parties feel. Do you think that will be a solution to the problem?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I have not reached the corner, so I do not know. I might tell you – this morning I get up and see the headlines in the papers that a charge-sheet is going to be presented to the President today.⁵² That is the first news I got of it. In fact, so far as I am concerned, I have not seen this charge-sheet. I heard that it came yesterday to the Congress office. I have not seen it and there is no particular reason why I should see it. I may merely inform you that I have not seen it nor can I say precisely and definitely whether it is going to be presented to the President or not today. I am merely telling you when I saw this morning's newspaper it came as a surprise to me. I do not know it may be presented today or not today.

Question: Is it proper for the President to entertain such charge-sheets?

Jawaharlal Nehru: For the President there is no question of entertaining; he has to receive any kind of paper, complaint, etc. He, in fact, gets a large number of them by post which he forwards to me or to some Minister who is in charge of the subject. Of course, if the President receives it, the charge-sheet, the President will presumably send it on to the Home Minister.

Question: In that case he should have sent it to the Home Minister himself. Why to the President?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is a highly technical matter about which I ...

52. A fifty-page memorandum listing charges against the Kerala ministry and praying for immediate general elections in the state was presented to the President by R. Sankar, the President, KPCC, on 9 July.

Question: Your suggestion for a fresh election in Kerala has been rejected by the Chief Minister.⁵³ After that it has been endorsed by the Congress Parliamentary Board whose meetings were attended by you and whose resolution perhaps had your approval also.⁵⁴ Is it proposed that this election should be brought about only with the consent of the state Government or it should be brought about despite its refusal?

Jawaharlal Nehru: How can I tell you? These are difficult matters in a difficult and changing situation. Our normal approach is that there should be no interference by the Central authority. Secondly, if there is to be any so-called interference, it should be by way of advice. Thirdly, if a situation develops which cannot be dealt with otherwise, then one has to think of other ways of interference. These are the normal ways. We avoid the last contingency, but if there is no other way, one has to take it. I cannot say now what is going to be done.

Question: Have you tried the first and the second methods which you suggested?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The first is not a method. The first is looking on (laughter).

Question: About the second?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The second – the method of advice – has been tried

Question: The national leadership has to decide squarely the question whether the democratic system is to be run on the Communist pattern as in Kerala or in a democratic way.

Jawaharlal Nehru: This is a very eloquent peroration (laughter). It is hardly a question.

53. On 25 June, at the end of his trip to Kerala, Nehru had suggested that "elections, where there is a challenge and conflict, are an obvious way of dealing with the situation;" see SWJN/SS/49/item 53, p. 279. On 27 June, the Central Executive Committee of the National Council of the CPI, at its meeting in Trivandrum, rejected the proposal, describing Nehru's suggestion as an attempt to give "a democratic garb to a discriminatory demand which the Opposition sought to enforce through illegal means." *The Times of India*, 28 June 1959.

54. See fn 26 in this section.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Question: Is it possible to get an indication as to what would the situation entail which would warrant Central intervention?

Jawaharlal Nehru: How can I enter into these matters? When naturally they are before us they will be considered by us.

Question: The entire Kerala agitation, as you would please appreciate, has been built up on the basis that Presidential rule is just coming, and this particular presentation, this report about the presentation of a charge-sheet to the President, puts the position, in my view, in a frivolous position, because ordinarily it should be presented by the Governor, who represents the President in the state. Don't you see we are creating conventions which will ultimately act against us as a boomerang?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Every such development in a state is a bad development, this kind of trying to decide matters through methods which, if they are not violent, verge on violence and state violence and all that; these are bad. They do not do a great deal of credit, I regret to say, to our public life in India wherever they might occur. It shows that in spite of our peaceful professions, we depart from that straight and narrow path and get excited over it. That is a fact. Now, all that is a bad example wherever it may occur. But when the question is considered, why does it occur, why this kind of things take place, you get entangled in all kinds of things and you have to deal with the situation as it arises, not philosophise about it or deliver academic speeches on the subject.

Question: There have been instances when President received them, the Praja Socialist leader, Jayaprakash Narayan, and these people and memorandum.

Jawaharlal Nehru: You mean some kind of a so-called charge-sheet? I do not think so. The President has received, I am sure, Jayaprakashji many times, as he has received many others, that is, people who criticise Government. He has sent me many memoranda that he has received in criticism of Government. That is the normal thing that happens. The President receives these petitions and he forwards them to me or to the Home Minister. I recognise that this is on a somewhat different footing than the previous ones.

Question: If the state Government is not hearing the people's cries, to whom they can represent?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not saying that they should not represent. They have every right to represent but my objection is not to those matters. My problem is: ultimately, what am I to do or what my Government is to do under a certain set of circumstances? I am venturing to point out to you that in deciding that matter, one has naturally to consider the Constitution. One must not go outside it. One has to consider something which is not in the written Constitution, but the conventions that we want to grow up under that Constitution, which are important. One has to consider the consequences of any action that we may recommend. All these are limited by the actual facts of the situation, to some extent.

Question: May I ask you one question on another aspect, in respect of something else? In the Kerala agitation, the Communist Party has criticised the Congress for aligning itself with communal forces, while the Communist Party aligned itself with the Jan Sangh for the Delhi mayoral election and with the DMK in Madras and, in view of this, is it not necessary to have a code of conduct for the two major opposition parties? Do you propose to take any steps in that direction?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The two questions are entirely apart really, but in regard to the code of conduct, I think it would be a very good thing if the major parties in the country, major and minor, if possible, did agree to a code of conduct. You will perhaps remember that in Madras, the Government there invited the leaders of parties in the Assembly, all of them, and they laid down a certain code of conduct which comprised a number of things. I forget what they were, but one of them related to students, that students should not be exploited for political purposes.⁵⁵ It is a very good thing. All the parties agreed to this and there was something else too. I remember also that Acharya Vinoba Bhave, in his own quiet way, had suggested that there might be some code of conduct for political parties whereby they could settle their differences or, if they agitate, they should agitate peacefully and not in a way which may lead to conflicts. I think he included students too. That is all right. We welcome such a code of conduct, but when you refer to the Congress cooperating with a communal organisation in Kerala or to the Jan Sangh...

Question: I said that the Communists have accused the Congress of cooperating with communal organisations while they have cooperated with

55. See SWJN/SS/44/p. 12.

the Jan Sangh in Delhi for the Delhi mayoral elections and with the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in Madras which is also an equally communal and a caste-conscious body.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not going to enter into these matters about arrangements in Madras or Delhi. It is obvious that the Communist Party or the PSP have in certain circumstances cooperated with or sought the cooperation of communal parties. It is rather difficult to draw a line. Even in Kerala, I believe, the Communist Party would very much like to get the cooperation of the Muslim League, but I recognise this major criticism that for the Congress, which has been committed to opposing communalism, it is improper for it to do anything which might encourage communalism. It is the only way I can put it. This talk of cooperation and non-cooperation is a little difficult. Here in Kerala, as I have said, there is, whatever the reasons, there is a tremendous mass upsurge and, in fact, one evidence of that mass upsurge is that parties which are opposed to each other and criticising each other, are now joining hands in this mass upsurge. That itself is an odd thing. All kinds of odd parties, who have little to do with each other, are doing it, including even – not that it is a very big party – including even the Revolutionary Socialist Party, the RSP. That has nothing to do with cooperation with communalism but the fact is that various sets of opinions and others are all pushed in one direction by this upsurge .

One thing I might mention, because I have noticed in some newspapers some reference to the Agrarian Bill or Act, whatever it is, in Kerala.⁵⁶ I was surprised even to see that somebody had demanded, somebody had said that the Act should be suspended or some such thing. I do not know what small details of the Agrarian Act are – I have not studied them carefully – but, by and large, the Agrarian Act follows the policy that we have laid down in other states. Minor changes apart, there is no question, so far as we are concerned, of the Agrarian Act being put on the shelf.

Question: One more question. About your suggestion to the Kerala Government, the Kerala Chief Minister and the General Secretary of the Communist Party in the State⁵⁷ have been criticising that you did not follow it up, and he went to the extent of saying that even a highway robber would not have done like that...

56. The Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill, 1957, conferred on tenants fixity of tenure and provided for a Land Tribunal to determine rents.

57. M.N. Govindan Nair, Secretary of the Kerala State Committee of the CPI.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, no. He said something much more to the point (laughter). He said – I think referring to me – “a highway robber would have either asked for your money or for your life but the Prime Minister has asked for both” or some such thing.⁵⁸ That was, I think, in relation to the elections and the Education Act. I do not myself see any basic conflict. Of course, if you want elections, if they are to decide upon, maybe then other questions are postponed, but even so, I should have thought that you have to create a proper atmosphere for the elections because elections, even if they are decided upon, do not take place overnight. There should be some lapse of time.

Question: How it is that you have not suggested elections in Bombay where more people had been killed in police firing there and by-election after by-election had been won by the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Because, in the balance, we did not think it necessary; I do not think it is necessary, and I do not think anybody has even suggested it. I tell you there is a vast difference between the two. I am just trying to explain to you. I am not aware – it has not been my experience to see anything like this tension that exists in Kerala today and I am quite certain that if I had not gone there, I would not have understood and felt it. It was a feeling I had – nothing to do with arguments. People told me, and that atmosphere was suffocating to me, the tense atmosphere, on either side solid walls of opinions, prejudice, anger, coming into conflict with each other.

Question: So, you have asked the Kerala Ministry to come and discuss the matter of the Education Act with the opposition parties. One can understand other opposition parties disregarding your suggestion. Why should not the Congress accept Mr Namboodiripad's offer of discussion.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The Congress does not discuss the Education Act at all. It is not concerned with it. The Congress has not opposed the Education Act. It wants some changes in it. The Education Act was to be discussed with the

58. According to *The Times of India* of 3 July 1959, Govindan Nair, at a press conference in Delhi on 2 July, “severely criticised Mr. Nehru for recommending fresh elections, suspension of the Education Act and cross table discussion over charges against the communist government in the same breath.” He was reported to have “angrily” commented: “Even a highway robber may demand either money or life – but not both;” and “If Mr. Nehru wants elections then where is the question of suspending the Education Act and having talks: he cannot have it both ways.”

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Nair Education Society, with the Catholic Bishops, and the Managements and others concerned. It is they who are not agreeable. As for the other changes, in a sense, the matter has not become ripe for discussion.

Question: How soon do you think the elections in Kerala can be held, and do you think that in the present atmosphere of high tension elections would produce any correct picture?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot answer the first question. I do not even know if they would be held there or not. How can I answer this hypothetical question? We have not decided anything yet.

Question: There are two aspects of the Kerala situation, the power politics part of it and its challenge to the normal democratic apparatus. Now, you say that you have got the first-hand knowledge of the Kerala situation. We ask you to enlighten us as to how far it is possible to protect our normal democratic apparatus by getting this situation out of the hands of the power politicians, because we are not interested in any of the parties but we are just interested only in the democratic traditions which we are trying to build up.

Jawaharlal Nehru: We are interested in democratic traditions and we are interested in security of life, etc. When you see all these things, that is, the substance of all things gradually fade away even though the form might be kept, then one is worried. Do you not realise that we talk about these things as if democracy was a square matter of some article in the Constitution. Democracy is a way of life; democracy is a way of thinking, acting, or cooperating, everything. When you see all these, if I may use the word, go to pieces there – for the moment I am not particularly blaming anybody or, if you like, I am blaming everybody, which-ever way you like – what is the good of talking about some kind of iron frame, which is called democracy, but no content left of it which is democratic. That is what is happening there. Let us go to something else.

[New topic] Swatantra Party

Somebody asked me about Rajaji's remarks about the Congress. For a variety of reasons, including my great respect and affection for Rajaji, I would prefer not to enter into any argument with him. Of course, sometimes if something has to be said in reply, no doubt I shall say it. But I do not quite know what to

reply to. I read rather carefully the reports of his speeches, and apart from abuse of the Congress, I am yet to find a single argument or a single proposal. Rajaji is a very able man, a witty man. He says his first duty is to shoot the tiger than to think what to do of the carcass. Maybe they will have it stuffed and put it up somewhere, maybe in the office of the Swatantra Party (laughter). But the whole thing is really amazing – such a lot of noise without any content. It really surprises me. What is the content, I want to know. As I have said, and I mean it, I welcome the formation of the Swatantra Party, because I want people to discuss, to talk about these matters, to argue. We want a live democracy, not a tame one. So I welcome it. But my difficulty is that except for strong language I fail to understand anything. Yet when I venture to ask, “What is the content or what is the programme,” I am told it is like the tiger asking, “Why do you want to shoot me down?” Naturally what am I to say about it? It is rather most extraordinary.

Everything is permissible to one of Rajaji’s position and age – that is all I can say: whether it is logic or ill logic. One thing I would hope for is that a man of his great experience and wisdom would at least not continually speak in anger. His speeches are solidified anger. Let us discuss the...

Question: Classified?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I said solidified. What is the Swatantra Party? As far as I can see, it is the political projection of the Forum of Free Enterprise.⁵⁹ It is just that. There is nothing else in it and so you see the gentlemen, who had been notorious in that Forum of Free Enterprise, sitting in the front row of Rajaji’s audiences and becoming members of his body and committees and, no doubt, easing the strains if any financial help is needed.

Question: One of the leaders of this party, Mr Shroff, wrote that you were elected by the vote of the illiterate people of India. He wrote in the *Current* and the article was distributed to everyone. It said that Mr Nehru was elected by illiterates.

Jawaharlal Nehru: But he is perfectly correct. Is not he correct? The misfortune is that the illiterate people are not likely to elect Mr Shroff. You see how the

59. Founded in 1954 by Ardeshtir Darabshaw Shroff, an industrialist, banker and economist, to counter what he perceived as the Government’s indifference towards private entrepreneurship.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

argument goes if you logically follow it: don't allow the illiterate people to elect, that is, don't have this type of democracy. Therefore, do this. I say the whole thing, if ultimately followed up, leads to sheer fascism, argumentatively or any way. There is no escape from it. I don't say it will lead up to it. I am sure it will not. But this is the first beginning of the fascist approach, talking about democracy and freedom, really objecting to that freedom on the ground, that people are not sensible enough or wise enough to follow the right lead, and, therefore, the right lead should be imposed upon them.

Question: Rajaji's criticism is largely based on the point that the Congressmen have become corrupt and are not working towards the socialistic pattern of society.

Question: Also there is day-to-day interference in the administration by Congressmen. Will you like to comment, in the light of a report of a senior ICS officer of the Bombay Government which the Government has released, saying that a large part of the time of collectors is spent on waiting on the VIPs?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is a different thing entirely. I entirely agree with that comment, that is, so many people, whether it is Ministers or others touring about, and the collector has to receive and wait on them and has to waste time. I have been raising my voice against that, in my own case. It is absurd. When I go somewhere, why should everybody gather? Why should all the Ministers gather, let us take, when I reach Madras. Why should a row of Ministers and Judges and others really wait, and waste their time and my time?

Question: To get the Congress ticket next time...

Jawaharlal Nehru: No (laughter). The Judges do not require Congress tickets. Why should you drag them from their courts? It is perfectly right. When Rajaji talks about interference by Congressmen in the administration, presumably, I don't know, his knowledge must be more of Madras than the rest of India because he lives there.

Question: If you go to moffussil towns, you hear the complaint even about criminal cases. I will cite you my own instance. Even in criminal cases, it has been said that if somebody is related to an important MLA or MP he gets away scot-free. That is true.

Jawaharlal Nehru: If Rajaji makes that complaint, it must be from his experience or what he has heard in Madras. My own impression is – it is difficult to say anything definite – that this kind of thing, which used to be very considerable, is infinitely less now because of the repeated attempts on our part to stop it. We cannot stop it completely because complaints, right or wrong, they do come and it may be, if you like, our failing. But it is much less than it was, but it is there undoubtedly. And, I think, to make that a major issue surprises me. I do not know if anybody has made a major issue except Rajaji. We criticise it and try to stop it. But I take it that Rajaji must have necessarily been thinking of Madras. He is hardly thinking of the Punjab, sitting in Madras.

Question: Have you received any complaints about Madras?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am saying that, what I have said frequently, that it is rather invidious to compare Governments and others. But one thing stands out so much, and I have said it, that the two most efficient state Governments in India are Madras and Bombay. I have no doubt about it. I have some knowledge of all the state Governments. They face their problems, their difficulties, with sheer efficiency. That does not mean that in Madras or Bombay there are no failings. Everywhere they are. And, therefore, I am a little surprised that Rajaji should say something which presumably refers to Madras. I cannot say if people in Madras have not interfered in the administration here and there; may have.

Question: I think, Sir, that Rajaji's remarks are on the all-India basis.

Jawaharlal Nehru: International, why not?

Question: At what stage do you propose to treat this Swatantra Party, which calls itself Conservative Party of India, seriously as a party and not just one or two sayings of Rajaji.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Do you mean to say I do not take it seriously now? I take it very seriously but the person who does not seem to take it very seriously, as far as I can make out, is Rajaji. He is treating it as a joke, more or less.

Question: Even if it is the projection of Free Enterprise Forum, they have got a definite economic programme at least which entails some political thinking and some political programme also.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Jawaharlal Nehru: I take it seriously but the economic programme, so far as I am able to make out, nobody has said what it is, except freedom from everything, except the free enterprise programme. Now, the unfortunate thing is that not only Rajaji but many people younger than him associated with him now in this Party have not quite got out of the Nineteenth Century yet. Rajaji, of course, had his roots in the Nineteenth Century or maybe earlier. But there it is; it is difficult to argue. And suppose if I give you rather a silly example, I hope you will forgive me. When we started talking to the Portuguese Government many years ago about Goa, their answer was that in the Fourteenth Century the Pope gave them a Papal Bull about Goa and the rest of half the world. How am I to say in reply to the Portuguese Government about the Papal Bull 500 years ago? Bulls are over, either you accept it or do not accept it. You cannot argue about a Papal Bull of the Fourteenth or Fifteenth Century. So my difficulty is this kind of various bulls being issued now by other popes and semi-popes. What am I to do about them? There must be some point to argue. What is the point? Abuse is no argument. It is obvious there is no argument at all. I cannot take bulls seriously; I may take the Swatantra Party seriously (laughter).

Question: The position is this, not that what Rajaji is saying. Your criticism has been mostly on the basis of what Rajaji says. The position is that all the reactionaries of the country have combined under a party which is being adequately financed and has got a large control of the media of mass communication. What action does Government propose to take or the Congress Party proposes to take against it as such?

Question: It is after the Nagpur resolution that this Party has come into existence. So it has some significance about the time of its birth.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes. Undoubtedly it has significance and as you have gently hinted at, many of you gentlemen or your newspapers stoutly support all this reaction. Now, if I may say so, in all humility, that there are a few odd hundred millions of illiterate people in this country, so-called illiterate—I don't call them illiterate—who also have a say in the matter. That is the great mass of Indian opinion. It is for them to decide what should be done, ultimately, in the final analysis. Let us discuss these matters quietly without anger and if India, the people of India want to do something, they will do it in spite of the Congress and in spite of the Swatantra Party. So it is. In spite of any party they make a mess of things occasionally; then rise afterwards by experience. I don't think you need get unnecessarily excited over the matter. Of course, we should be vigilant.

[New topic] The Dalai Lama

Then somebody asked me about the Dalai Lama. I do not know – nothing much to say about the Dalai Lama. One can appreciate his position and sympathise with his feelings very much. He is a young man, twenty-five years old, who has gone through tremendous experiences, not only himself but seen his country go through them. He feels strongly about them. As you know, we have welcomed him as an individual who has a position of high degree, as a great religious head and all that.⁶⁰ We welcomed him with respect and he is welcome here as long as he stays. We have welcomed large numbers of other people too, about 12,000 or so, gradually. We are dispersing them to various parts of the mountains. We cannot bring them down to the plains. Some of them are going to old monasteries, whether near Sikkim or elsewhere, some settling down elsewhere, some taking up work, children, etc., going to schools. So gradually we are trying to solve this problem. It is a difficult one.

Coming back to the Dalai Lama, I hope that every person in India or abroad realises now that the Dalai Lama does not function under any coercion. He functions freely in India, and the previous charge that maybe the Government of India made him do some things now is proved to be completely wrong. He has made recently statements. They are statements of a free man who wants to say what he feels. We have not come in the way. We have not agreed with all that he has said in his statements. It is up to him to make a statement if he wants to. We do not come in his way. It is up to him to stay in Mussoorie.⁶¹ If he wants to go elsewhere, he is welcome to do that. He is our honoured guest. If he wants to go elsewhere, he can go.

That is the position. In regard to the broader question of Tibet, we have made it clear that whatever our respect for the Dalai Lama and whatever our reactions to the events in Tibet, it would be improper and not justified for us to recognise any kind of a Tibetan Government on Indian soil. That we have made clear. For the rest, it is for the Dalai Lama to decide what he would like to do.

Question: Would you care to comment on Mr Jayaprakash Narayan's statement that he feels that the Dalai Lama is likely to refer the Tibetan issue to the United Nations and also his move to form an Afro-Asian Committee?

60. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 207 and 212.

61. The Dalai Lama had been in Mussoorie since 21 April 1959; see also SWJN/SS/48/p. 212.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I would rather not go into these matters. Whenever it comes up, we have to decide when and how. Why should I decide it now? Broadly speaking, the question has always arisen, that of bringing up any matter connected with the Chinese People's Republic before the United Nations. The United Nations, great body as it is, has itself rather prevented itself from considering such matters, in the sense that when it does not recognise a certain great country then to pass judgment on it becomes difficult. It is an odd position, apart from the merits of anything. In fact, even in a distant sense, you might say, at the time of the Korean War, that the United Nations considered the People's Government of China as hostile. There is that obvious difficulty apart from anything else. Secondly, such an action is taken with some objective in view, to gain something, not merely just a forum for strong language. That does not help. After all, many of us, many of you gentlemen, may be deeply interested in conditions in Tibet, in the people of Tibet and in what has happened in Tibet. Now, do we want to be helpful or do we just want to give expression to our strong feelings regardless of results? That is a test one should apply in these matters.

Question: Could we take it, from the remarks you have just made, that you have reconciled yourself to the position that nothing can be done for the Tibetans, that the Dalai Lama could never return home, that the Tibetan people will be absorbed by the Chinese in their own country?

Jawaharlal Nehru: My dear Sir, I have not reconciled myself to this position or a hundred or a thousand other positions. But I do not pretend to have authority or power to change the shape of the world, the face of the world. As things come up, one tries to act to the best of one's judgement.

[New topic] Cooperative farming

Now, there is one more point. It is late. What do people want me to say about cooperative farming?

Question: I have two small questions. One is: It is being said by the leaders of the new party that cooperative farming cannot succeed without the use of so-called totalitarian methods. Do you hold cooperative farming perfectly compatible with democracy? My second question is: Do you have any doubt in your mind about the success of cooperative farming or do you envisage any factor or factors which might cause failure?

SWATANTRA PARTY BELONGS TO
THE PAST, SAYS NEHRU.
STILL, THE CONGRESS IS AFRAID
OF IT.



[C. Rajagopalachari, Minoo Masani]

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 12 JULY 1959)

Jawaharlal Nehru: Going back to the new Party, the new Party is really a very, very old Party; it is not a new Party. It is a throwback. It is against everything that the Congress has stood for in the last thirty years at least, maybe not everything, but many things that the Congress has stood for. Do not imagine that the cooperative farming has frightened it; it has nothing to do with that.

It is a direct challenge to all the social, leave out the political, theories or social programmes of the Congress from long before Independence. It is entirely opposed to what the Congress stands for, that is, a socialist pattern of society or socialism, all that. So the attack is really on a broad basis; they have pinpointed it. Now, it is a very curious thing to say that cooperative farming cannot succeed and cooperative farming is the same as collective farming, which it is not. It is just astonishing, how this kind of thing should be said when it is not so, and when we have declared – personally I have stated many times – that I am entirely opposed to collectives in India in the conditions of India. I am not judging any other country. In the conditions now and in the foreseeable future, I am entirely opposed to collectives. There the matter ends so far as I am concerned. But they go on saying that it is the same thing as collective. It is difficult to deal with this kind of lack of reasoning.

Then they say cooperative farming cannot be brought in except by compulsion. Now, we have stated clearly that it is entirely a voluntary movement. If they want to come, they can come in; if they do not want, they need not. What is more, we have said that if they want to get out, they can get out of it afterwards. So, what can I say when they go on saying that it is compulsory? It is astonishing. One has to take certain basic facts for granted in an argument but they go on saying, simply denying things.

Now, cooperative farming is only one aspect of cooperation, of rural cooperation. All our stress is today on what is called service cooperatives. Now, you will observe that casually they say we are not against service cooperatives, that is, the principal programme today, but that it is aimed at this dangerous thing, that is, cooperative farming, which leads to collectives, which leads to perdition and hell. Maybe; so that, without really considering the present situation, what we are aiming at, what we are working for, they go on talking something which they create out of their own minds. Personally, I do certainly think that cooperative joint farming is not only desirable but it is a higher form of association of work, more profitable and higher in every way. But my wishing so will not bring it about. It will be the people themselves, the farmers themselves, who have to take it up.

My own impression is that the farmers generally in India are thinking in very favourable terms about it. I happened the other day to be in Sonapat. There was a big conference of panches and sarpanches from all over Punjab,⁶² a very select number, I forgot the number, maybe about 600 or a thousand or more. I was surprised that these very tough Punjab peasants, panches and sarpanches, hard workers and tough peasants – I got there and I said, “I do not

62. See fn 10 in this section.

want just to deliver a speech to you and I am going to speak in a public meeting. But I would much rather know what you feel about things.” I left it to them to talk and they talked. I was astonished to learn that they had not only been discussing this question of cooperative farming for two days but they had come to the conclusion – whether it was unanimous or near unanimous I do not know but it is generally so – that it is a very good thing and that they should have it. I had to get up and tell them, to restrain them, and I said, “Do not be in a hurry. Mere enthusiasm is not enough. You must be trained for it. You must understand everything. Go slowly.” I had to do this business of slowing down the pace, because I want not something to show off. I want successful farms working. That requires training and trained men. We are training them by ten thousands.

So, I do not understand this business of cooperative farming being opposed in this way. If they want it, they will have it. If they don’t want it, they will not have it. There the matter ends. Certainly Mr Rajagopalachari and Mr Masani⁶³ and others can tell the people that it is not good for them. It is their right as I can tell them that it would do you good. But the decision is theirs, not mine.

Question: This is not my question. But I have often heard it asked: Is it being brought in to increase food production or for ideological reasons?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What – cooperative farming? Essentially, no ideology; any ideology which in the present case comes in the way of food production is bad ideology, obviously. The whole purpose of any ideology is that it should yield results. It is not some metaphysical conception of my attaining nirvana which I cannot test. The test is more food production. That is the real test. Yes, you may say that in going towards certain objectives there may temporarily be some slight upset. That may be so, but the whole test is more food production, absolutely.

Now, gentlemen, one hour and twenty minutes. Thank you.

63. Minocher Rustom Masani, (better known as Minoo Masani); co-founder of the Swatantra Party; appointed Secretary of the Party in December 1959.

II. POLITICS

(a) Parties

(i) Indian National Congress

3. To G.B. Pant: The Economy Committee¹

The Retreat,
Mashobra,
July 11, 1959

My dear Pantji,

Some time back Feroze Gandhi² gave me a report of the Economy Committee appointed by the Congress Party.³ I am sorry I have delayed dealing with it. I suppose this matter will come up before the Congress Party in Parliament when Parliament meets.⁴ I do not quite know how we should deal with it then. The proposal made in the report is that the Central Statistical Organisation should conduct a census of all Central Government employees.⁵

I enclose a copy of this report. I am sending a copy to the Finance Minister and another copy to the Cabinet Secretary⁶ asking him to verify the various figures given in the report.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Letter. File No. 37 (92)/59-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Rae Bareilly, UP.
3. The Congress Party in Parliament (CPP) had appointed the Economy Committee on 31 March 1959. It consisted of: G.S. Melkote, R.R. Morarka, H.C. Dasappa, N.P. Nathwani, Ram Subhag Singh and Feroze Gandhi. File No. 37 (92)/59-66-PMS.
4. The Lok Sabha was to meet on 3 August.
5. Pant replied on 14 July commending the Economy Committee's work and proposed a fresh census of all Central Government employees since the last such census had been conducted by the Central Statistical Organisation in 1955; annual or biennial censuses could follow thereafter. File No. 37 (92)/59-66-PMS.
6. Vishnu Sahay.

4. To Feroze Gandhi: The Committee on State Undertakings⁷

The Retreat,
Mashobra,
July 14, 1959

My dear Feroze,

You gave me some time ago the report of the Sub-Committee appointed for the examination of State enterprises.⁸ I want to circulate copies of this report amongst Cabinet Ministers so that we might give full consideration to it. I have asked the Cabinet Secretary, Shri Vishnu Sahay, to take the necessary steps to this end.

I presume you have copies of this report. If so, will you please send an adequate number to the Cabinet Secretary, Shri Vishnu Sahay? He will indicate to you the number required.

[Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru]

5. To H.C. Heda: Committee Reports⁹

The Retreat,
Mashobra,
July 14, 1959

My dear Heda,¹⁰

I have your letter of July 10.

I have received both the reports to which you refer. They will certainly have to be considered by the Executive of the Congress Party. In view of certain recommendations made in these reports, for Government action, I have been thinking that it would be desirable for Government to consider these recommendations, and I have made arrangements accordingly. Probably it will

7. Letter.

8. On behalf of the Executive Committee of the CPP, Nehru had appointed a ten-member committee of Congress MPs on 10 April 1958 with V.K. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, as chairman, to make suggestions for parliamentary supervision of state undertakings. Feroze Gandhi was a member. See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 125-130.

9. Letter. File No. 37 (92)/59-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

10. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Nizamabad, Andhra Pradesh, and Secretary, CPP.

be better for the matter to be considered by the Party Executive at a slightly later stage. I suggest that we might deal with this question at the first meeting of the Party Executive. I mean that we shall then consider how to deal with this question. You might meet me in Delhi so that we can have a talk about it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To G.B. Pant: Administration, Kashmir, Kerala¹¹

The Retreat,
Mashobra,
July 15, 1959

My dear Pantji,

Thank you for your letter of July 14.¹² I think that the note you have circulated to your Ministry might well be sent to all Ministries and Departments of the Government of India.¹³ But the question arises as to how the advice we give is to be implemented. We give a good deal of good advice, but it does not take us very far. I think that some progress has undoubtedly been made. Perhaps some more drastic step might be advisable.

I suppose that both the Congress Party Economy Committee Report and the other Report about State-owned Corporations, etc. will have to be placed before the Executive Committee of the Congress Party. That means that publicity should be given to it. I do not see how we can avoid this and, indeed, why we should avoid it.

I shall be returning to Delhi on the afternoon of the 19th July. I shall see you the same day.

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed has been pressing me to pay a brief visit to Kashmir, even though for a few hours, just to see the flood conditions and the great damage done. After some hesitation, I have decided to go there on the 21st July. I shall start from Delhi early in the morning and return the same day at about 4-30 P.M.

11. Letter.

12. See item 3, fn 5.

13. The note outlined details of administrative procedure: i) not to fill vacancies; ii) to delegate more; iii) files should move up the hierarchy by the shortest route. File No. 37 (92)/59-66-PMS.

I have a programme for a tour in the South, Andhra and Mysore. I am supposed to go on the 23rd July and return on the 29th. Of course, if it is very necessary, I can come back a day or two earlier. I do not like the idea of going out of Delhi during this period, but it is rather difficult to cancel the tour now.

Indira has been receiving letters from a number of Congressmen, Members of the A.I.C.C., asking for an emergent meeting of the A.I.C.C. to consider the Kerala situation.¹⁴ They suggest that the meeting should be secret, and point out that there is much confusion in the minds of Congressmen on this issue. I think there is something in this suggestion, and it might well be desirable to have a meeting by the end of this month. However, we can consider this after my and Indira's return.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To Mahavir Tyagi: The Decline of the Congress¹⁵

The Retreat,
Mashobra,
July 16, 1959

प्रिय महावीर [Translation: Dear Mahavir],¹⁶

Your Hindi letter of the 9th July reached me here yesterday.¹⁷ I would have liked to reply to it in Hindi, but to save time I am dictating this in English. Also I have not been keeping very well here ever since I came, and occasionally I have had some slight temperature.

I have read your moving account of those days in Mussoorie when you were with father. Naturally this brings back to mind many incidents which now form part of our personal and some times even our national history.

You remind me of the virtues of my father and how poorly I compare with him. You are completely right in that. But what can I do now on the eve of 70

14. Probably by Ansar Harwani and N.C. Kasliwal, both MPs and members of the Congress Socialist Forum, on 21 July. Dhebar and Sadiq Ali were present. "Mr. Dhebar is reported to have said that in Kerala the constitutional machinery had broken down." See *The Pioneer*, Lucknow edition, 22 July 1959.

15. Letter. Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund Papers, NMML.

16. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Dehradun, Uttar Pradesh.

17. See Mahavir Tyagi to Nehru, 9 July 1959, Appendix 21.

years of age? I suppose it is not a very easy matter to change basically at that age. Anyhow one should try to improve.

You point out how there is deterioration all over the place. Undoubtedly a good deal of responsibility must necessarily be mine, as I happen to occupy a responsible position. I do not wish to escape from it. But the question is rather of what should be done and in that all of us have to share. I wish you would make some positive suggestions which should be helpful. You can write to me or you can see me in Delhi.

तुम्हारा
जवाहरलाल नेहरू

[Translation: Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru]

8. To S.K. Dey: Cooperative Farming¹⁸

July 21, 1959

My dear Dey,¹⁹

Looking through some of our old Election Manifestos, I was much interested to find that there is reference to cooperative farming in every one of them.

I am attaching quotations from these Election Manifestos of 1945, 1951 and 1957.²⁰

Some people imagine that we have jumped into this idea of cooperative farming suddenly. That is why it is good to remind them and ourselves that we have been thinking about this for many long years past.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

18. Letter. File No. 31 (93)/59-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

19. Minister of Community Development and Cooperation.

20. See Appendix 1.

The same day, in separate letters to Govind Ballabh Pant, Morarji Desai, Ajit Prasad Jain and K.M. Munshi, Nehru drew their attention to these quotations from Congress election manifestos.

9. To Vishnu Sahay: The Economy Committee Report²¹

I sent you, I think, the report of the Economy Committee of the Congress Party.²² The Finance Minister has sent me a note on this which I am enclosing. In this note some steps are suggested which we might take.

2. Thus the CSO should be asked to expedite publication of the 1956 and 1957 censuses and to complete the 1958 census as quickly as possible.

3. In regard to the other recommendations, I should be glad to have any comments from you which you consider necessary.

10. To A.A. Mohammed Noor: Anti-Congress Propaganda²³

July 21, 1959

Dear Shri Mohammed Noor,²⁴

Thank you for your letter of the 17th July, in which you express so much concern for some types of propaganda that are being carried on now. It is true that there appears to be a concerted attempt to run down our policies, more especially what the Nagpur Congress decided. The only way to meet this is calmly to explain those policies and not allow them to be misinterpreted.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. To H.C. Heda: Committee Reports²⁵

24th July, 1959

My dear Heda,

Please refer to your letter of July 10, 1959, to which I sent a reply from Mashobra on July 14. I have considered this matter afresh. I think it would be desirable to circulate the reports of the two Sub-Committees, viz., the Economy

21. Note, 21 July 1959. File No. 37 (92)/59-66-PMS.

22. See Nehru to G.B. Pant, 11 July 1959, item 3.

23. Letter.

24. Member, Executive Committee, Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee.

25. Letter. File No. 37 (92)/59-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

Committee and the Sub-Committee on State Undertakings, to members of the Executive of the Congress Party in Parliament.

I suggest this as obviously there can be no consideration of this matter unless members have seen these reports. Therefore, the reports should be so circulated but it should be stated that they are to be treated as confidential.²⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. To Chief Ministers: The Importance of Cooperative Farming²⁷

July 26, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

As you know, there has been a good deal of discussion during recent months about cooperatives and, more particularly, cooperative farming. Some people apparently think that these subjects have been suddenly thrust upon the public. You know well that this is not so and these questions have been discussed at some length in our Five Year Plans. I would particularly refer you to the Second Plan, Chapter XI on land reform and agrarian reorganisation. In the course of this Chapter, cooperative farming is discussed, paragraph 52 onwards.²⁸

But I should like to draw your attention particularly to the Congress election manifestoes where there has been specific reference to these matters. This occurs in all the three Congress election manifestoes of 1945, 1951 and 1957.

26. According to *The Hindu* of 29 August 1959, the CPP Executive discussed on 28 August the report of the Krishna Menon Committee on public accountability of state undertakings and endorsed its recommendation for greater powers to the Chairmen of these undertakings.
27. Letter. Sent to all Chief Ministers save of Kerala and the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. File No. 31 (93)/59-70-PMS; published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-64*, Vol. 5 (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1989), p. 279; also available in JN Collection.
28. In fact, "Co-operative Farming" is discussed in Chapter IX, titled "Land Reform and Agrarian Reorganisation," from paragraph 52 to 61; see Government of India, Planning Commission, *Second Five Year Plan* (n.p., 1956) [New Delhi], pp. 201-205.
29. See Appendix 1.

I am attaching a paper giving extracts from these three Congress election manifestos²⁹ which, I am sure, will interest you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ii) Swatantra Party

13. To N.G. Ranga: Criticism of Congress Policies³⁰

July 23, 1959

My dear Ranga,

I see that you have been expressing your disapproval of what are called my policies in ever stronger language.³¹ That, of course, is as it should be, if you are feeling that way. So far as I am concerned, it will be no good.

But what rather surprises me is the statement being made again and again that some quite new policy regarding the land has been laid down by the Government or by the Congress. I would have hoped that people who criticise should keep their facts straight.

For your information, I am sending you extracts from the Congress Election Manifestos of 1945, 1951 and 1957.³² I could add to these by quotations from speeches of Gandhiji, Vinobaji and others.

What I am trying to point out is that there is nothing new in our present agrarian policy. It may be right or it may be wrong, but it is a policy laid down long years ago.

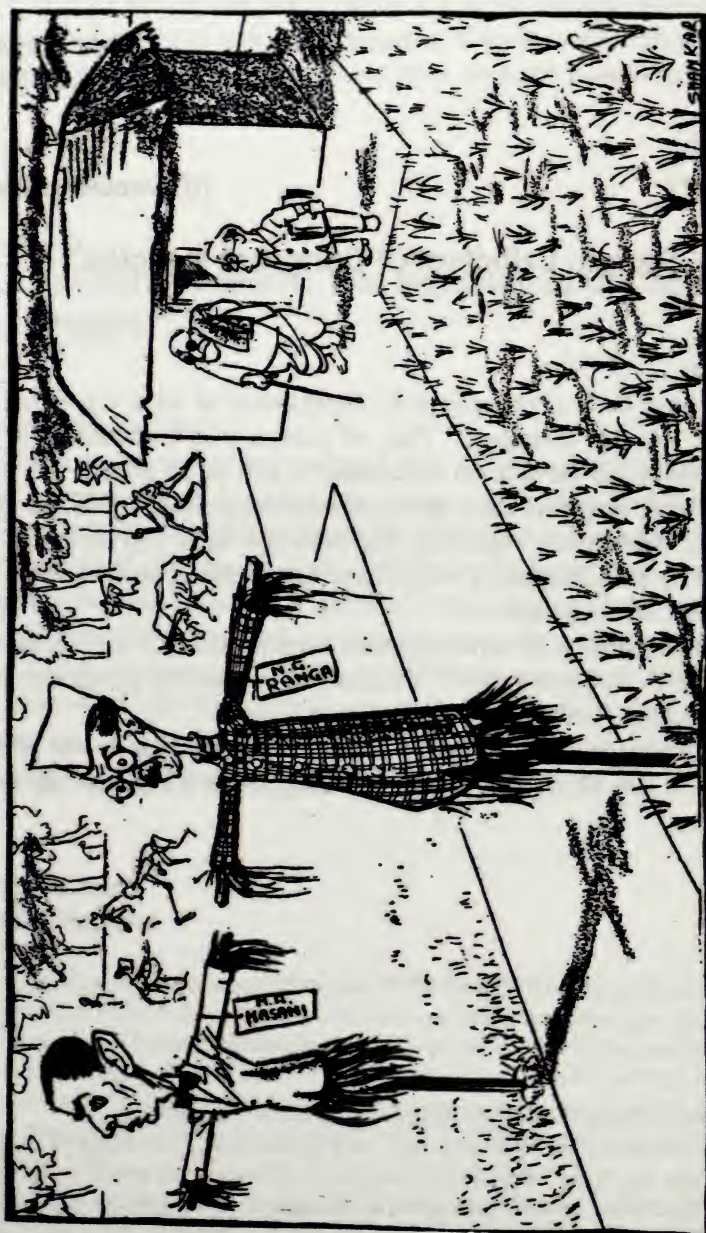
Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

30. Letter. File No. 31 (93)/59-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

31. N.G. Ranga, a leader of the Swatantra Party, told the Karnatak Convention of the party on 22 July "that the Prime Minister had launched a three-pronged attack on the social economy of the country, namely, imposition of ceilings on land, organisation of peasants into co-operative farming societies and also industrial co-operatives. The country had to take up this challenge." *The Hindu*, 23 July 1959.

32. See Appendix 1.

Guardian Angels



The Swatantra Party being opposed to cooperative agriculture will safeguard the interest and freedom of the individual producer and provide him incentive.—Report

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 12 JULY 1959)

14. To S. Venkataraman: Swatantra Party Regressive³³

25th July 1959

Dear Shri Venkataraman,³⁴

I have received your letter of 23rd July and have read it with interest.

I do not think I have underestimated the Swatantra Party. I quite realise that it can draw all kind of people within its fold. Nevertheless, I do think that it represents a throw-back.

I have not asked anyone who disagrees with me to quit the Congress. What I have said is if people do not accept the basic principles of Congress, they are at perfect liberty to leave it instead of feeling unhappy in it.

As for the Nagpur Congress resolutions,³⁵ they were not my resolutions but rather that of an All India Committee (of which I was not a member) which considered this matter. They were in line with the Congress policies laid down for the last many years. It may interest you to see some extracts from our Congress manifestos during the last three elections.³⁶ I am enclosing these.

I have read your suggestions for a remedy. Many of the things that you have suggested we are trying to do; some I do not agree with and some I think are beyond our capacity as a democratic Government.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

33. Letter.

34. An advocate from Coimbatore.

35. See item 1, fn 4.

36. See Appendix 1.

(b) States
(i) Andhra Pradesh

**15. To N. Sanjiva Reddy: Postponement of
the Andhra Tour³⁷**

The Retreat,
Mashobra,
July 18, 1959

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,³⁸

I sent you a telegram early this morning.³⁹ For many days now I have been unwell and confined to bed with some fever. I was hoping all along to get over this indisposition. But this is taking longer than I expected. At last I felt that I must inform you as it would be wrong to do so at the very last moment.

As it is, I am feeling at present very devitalised. My throat and voice are not in good condition and I can hardly speak for long. I fear that if I undertook the tour in this condition or something like it, the result may well be a relapse, and I might be on your hands as an ill person instead of being able to do my job of work. I feel, therefore, that, inconvenient as this must be, I should give up the present proposed tour of Andhra Pradesh and try to visit you some other time later. There appears to be no other feasible course. I must apologise to you and to other colleagues in Andhra Pradesh for this upsetting of many programmes because of ill health. As you know, this kind of thing seldom happens to me. When it happens, I suppose one should take a little care about it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

37. Letter. File No. 8/107/59-PMP.

38. The Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.

39. Nehru said he may not be well enough to visit Andhra, 23-25 July, as planned.

16. To G.B. Pant: Mir Osman Ali' Wealth-Tax Exemption⁴⁰

July 31, 1959

My dear Pantji,

I enclose a copy of a letter received by me today from the Nizam of Hyderabad.⁴¹ This was brought by Nawab Zain Yar Jung,⁴² who told me of the difficulties the Nizam was having and his over-drafts with the banks etc. etc.⁴³ I told him that I would send it to the Home Ministry and the Finance Ministry for examination. I am, therefore, doing so.

In effect, what the Nizam wants is to get his Bombay house "Persepolis" exempted from the payment of Wealth Tax. Zain Yar Jung told me that even this exemption might be given for say four years or so only.

Kindly have this matter examined in your Ministry. I am sending a copy of the Nizam's letter to the Finance Minister also.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

(ii) Bihar

17. To S.K. Sinha: School Education, Communal Appointments⁴⁴

July 1, 1959

My dear Sri Babu,⁴⁵

I have today received two letters from you, D.O. No. 135 C dated 27th June and D.O. No. 138 C dated 27/28th June.⁴⁶ Thank you for both of these letters.

40. Letter.

41. Mir Osman Ali.

42. Former Chief Architect and Minister of Hyderabad State, and Nizam's Agent General in New Delhi in 1948; Nominated Member of Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council, 1958-61. Nagendra Kumar Singh (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Muslim Biography: India Pakistan Bangladesh*, Vol. 5 (New Delhi: A.P.H. Publishing Corporation, 2001), pp. 501-502.

43. See Mir Osman Ali to Nehru, 27 July 1959, Appendix 47.

44. Letter.

45. Sri Babu is Sri Krishna Sinha, the Chief Minister of Bihar.

46. These were in reply to Nehru's letter to Sinha, 10 June 1959; see SWJN/SS/49/item 35.

As for your letter about the arrangements made at Sitamarhi, etc., you will appreciate that it is my custom to send all such letters received by me to Chief Ministers or others concerned. This does not mean that I attach any particular value to the complaint made.

I am grateful for your having written to me at some length, in your other letter, about the charges made in regard to communal appointments, more particularly relating to the Education Department of Bihar. You have given me a full reply which is very helpful to me in understanding the situation.

I am specially glad to note the progress being made in education. There is, however, one aspect of it to which I should like to draw your attention. Some months ago I was told that while on paper many primary schools have been started, an inspection revealed rather a sad state of affairs. Sometimes there was hardly any school except a board. Sometimes there were just a few boys without any proper organisation or teachers. This report was, no doubt, about some rather out of the way places. But it came from a person who had himself visited those areas. I am merely mentioning this so that effective inspection should take place.

I had hoped to meet you here but you could not come. Next week I am thinking of going to Kashmir for a week or ten days.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

18. To S.K. Sinha: Police Methods⁴⁷

July 1, 1959

My dear Sri Babu,

I enclose a representation I have received. I shall be grateful if you will kindly have this matter inquired into. On the face of it, it looks very odd that a person like the memorialist should be challaned and jailed. Sometimes, in such cases, there is some controversy with the police and because of this it might not be enough merely to ask for the police account of it. Someone else might look into the matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

47. Letter.

19. To S.K. Sinha: A Congressman's Transgression in Sindri⁴⁸

July 23, 1959

My dear Sri Babu,

Perhaps your attention has already been drawn to a strange case of the President of the Congress Mandal at Sindri holding on to some government land and not giving it up. This gentleman, whose name is Ramashankar Sinha, has given a lot of trouble about this land. I enclose a note about him.

The matter has been brought to the notice of the Congress President also.⁴⁹ I do not see why he should not be treated as any other person and charged for trespass. The attention of the President of the Pradesh Congress Committee might be drawn to this case also.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(iii) Delhi

20. To Kesho Ram: Slum Improvement⁵⁰

Every month or so people send me reports of slum clearance work or some improvement made in the slum areas of Delhi.⁵¹ I am told that so many Katras have been cleared or something else has been done in other Katras, and so on. Reading these reports one gets the impression that a good deal of work is being done in this direction. But I see no reference to this in the newspapers or elsewhere. In fact, the only references that occur in the newspapers are pictures or descriptions of some of the worst slum areas. There is a general impression that we talk a great deal about slum clearance and do practically nothing.

2. I think you might suggest to the authorities concerned that they might take some trouble to give publicity to the work that is being done.

48. Letter.

49. See Nehru's note of 14 June 1959 to Indira Gandhi, SWJN/SS/49/item 29.

50. Note to the Principal Private Secretary to Prime Minister, 24 July 1959.

51. By the Delhi Municipal Corporation, the official body, and by the Bharat Sewak Samaj, the non-official one. Reply given by Anil K. Chanda, Deputy Minister of Works, Housing and Supply, in the Rajya Sabha on 8 September 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 14-24, cols 3214-3215.

(iv) Jammu and Kashmir

21. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed: Visit to Kashmir⁵²

July 1, 1959

My dear Bakhshi,

Yesterday I spoke to you on the telephone about the possibility of my coming to Kashmir for a week for rest. I especially asked you to keep this matter confidential and to make no engagements, etc, for me. I was anxious that the visit should be a quiet one.

This morning I find a news item in the Press from Kashmir saying that elaborate arrangements are being made for me both in Jammu and in Srinagar.⁵³ I am a little alarmed by this kind of publicity which I wished to avoid. I wish you will be good enough to help me in this matter. In any event, I am not going to Jammu.

I do not mean to say that my visit to Kashmir should be a secret one. The fact that I am going there will, of course, be announced. But it should also be stated that I am going there for rest and do not propose to have any engagements.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

22. To K.C. Reddy: Housing for the Poor⁵⁴

3rd July, 1959

My dear Reddy,⁵⁵

I am going to Kashmir soon. I understand that your Ministry has given some money to the Kashmir Government for housing schemes. Could you let me have information about it? How much was given? What has been done with it and have any accounts been received and audited? The money, I take it, was

52. Letter. File No. 8/110/59-PMP. Also available in JN Collection.

53. *The Times of India* reported "arrangements to accord him a rousing welcome at Jammu as well as Srinagar."

54. Letter.

55. The Minister of Works, Housing & Supply.

given for housing for the poorer people. Was this spent for that purpose or for some other purpose?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

23. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed: Kashmir Visit Rescheduled⁵⁶

23rd July 1959

My dear Bakhshi,

As you know, I cancelled my South India tour⁵⁷ and am now supposed to be resting and recuperating.⁵⁸ My throat had been rather badly affected and I was actually asked to remain silent for two or three days. That was not possible. Still I am trying to avoid talking too much.

In the beginning of August, we shall get tied up with the new session of Parliament. I am anxious to pay you a brief visit before that happens. I am, therefore, thinking of coming to Srinagar on Monday, 27th July, and returning the next morning 28th. I hope to start from here at about 8.30 and reach Srinagar airport at about 11. The time for starting will depend on weather conditions.

Indira will probably come with me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

56. Letter. File No. 8/110/59- PMP. Also available in JN Collection.

57. Nehru was to tour Andhra Pradesh and Mysore from 23 to 29 July.

58. Nehru was to make an aerial inspection of flooding in Kashmir Valley on 21 July, but his programme was cancelled. *The Hindu*, 20 July 1959.

SHADOW ON THE WALL



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 8 JULY 1959)

24. To National Conference Workers⁵⁹

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF NATION NEHRU'S CALL FOR UNITED EFFORT FOR SOLUTION COMMENT ON FORMATION OF SWATANTRA PARTY

Srinagar, July 28.

Prime Minister Nehru said here yesterday that by starting the Swatantra Party, Rajaji had taken a wrong road. He admired and respected Rajaji for his ability and he was a revered leader. But he was living in the "world of yesterday."

Mr. Nehru made these remarks while addressing a rally of National Conference workers. He said that the formation of the Swatantra Party was nothing frightening. In fact, by waging these political battles they improved the political maturity of the people.

The Prime Minister referred to the economic problems of India and said that India could achieve progress and prosperity by hard work and united action. Efforts should be made to produce wealth and to distribute it in a just manner giving maximum benefits to maximum people.

In his 60-minute address, Mr. Nehru touched on India's Five-Year Plan, economic planning and Kashmir floods and made a passing reference to Pakistan.

Mr. Nehru said that among backward nations which were now engaged in improving their economic conditions India and China were the foremost. He said that in China progress was being achieved. There were people in China who were capable of working. They had their own system and extracted work through compulsion. In India considerable progress had been made and the country was engaged in laying the foundations of economic prosperity, symbols of which were the steel plants and the machine building factories.

India, he said, was going through difficult times, even through hunger, to achieve industrial and agricultural progress.

FLOODS IN KASHMIR

Mr. Nehru said that he was visiting Kashmir after the recent floods that had spelt destruction. Devastation caused by the floods to communications and the Mohura power house was a big "set-back". Such a situation was not good. However, by facing difficult situations individuals and countries progressed. Such a situation should be faced and tackled with courage and unity. These

59. Speech. Srinagar, 27 July 1959. *The Hindu*, 29 July 1959.

qualities were evident in European nations. "During the Independence struggle India had also manifested generally a sense of unity but after gaining Independence and being free from anxiety we have started quarrelling with each other." These quarrels, he said, should not be permitted to affect the country's progress.

Mr. Nehru said that he was naturally interested in Kashmir and its progress. "I am not concerned about Pakistan. They (Pakistan) have cooled off – so far as I am concerned. Sometimes they indulge in an irresponsible behaviour but I am not worried about that," he said.

The Prime Minister said that he was aware that rice prices in Kashmir were subsidised. Occasionally, in the past, he said, he had drawn the attention of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad to the weak economic structure obtaining in Kashmir. While India, he said, would help Kashmir in its economic development it was wrong in principle that rice prices in the State should be subsidised. The subsidy question did not obtain anywhere else in the country.

Continued subsidies, Mr. Nehru said, would lead to bankruptcy of the State Exchequer and render the economic structure of the State artificial. The economic structure of the State was complicated and it had been made more complicated by the recent floods.

Mr. Nehru said that even if the Opposition parties in the State felt that the timing of the announcing of price increase of rice was not proper, their action in organising opposition to it in the form of demonstrations, strikes and processions was not correct.

Mr. Nehru said that it was important that the ruling National Conference Party should be a strong and united organisation dedicated to the service of the people. The Indian National Congress, he said, had been strong and united when it was rendering service to the people. Some weaknesses like selfishness had penetrated into the Indian National Congress.

In a democratic set-up political organisations should have roots in the masses and should have the object of serving the people and should not merely be concerned with governing people.

(v) Kerala

25. To R. Sankar: Mannath Padmanabhan⁶⁰

2nd July, 1959

My dear Sankar,

I do not understand or appreciate the attitude that is apparently being taken up by Shri Mannath Padmanabhan in regard to the Education Act. To say that the whole Act should be suspended before you talk is hardly a reasonable attitude to adopt.⁶¹ No one can say that everything in the Act is objectionable or controversial. It is enough, therefore, to say that the controversial parts of it should not be implemented till such talks take place. Any attempt to stop completely the functioning of the entire Act would, I am sure, lead to resentment, more especially among the teachers and would have an upsetting effect in other ways too.

You will remember that in Malabar, teachers were paid directly by Government before the formation of the Kerala State.⁶² Now if the Education Act is wholly suspended, even this will stop and create difficulties.

I am writing to you because I am worried at the type of statements that are made by some of the parties in Kerala. They cast their shadow on the Congress also because of the association of the Congress with other groups. We have to be very careful about these matters.

Shri Padmanabhan has also been opposing the Agrarian Act.⁶³ Surely, the Congress cannot take up a passive attitude about such matters.

I am likely to have a press conference in four or five days' time and if I am asked questions on these subjects, I shall give expression to how I feel about them.⁶⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

60. Letter.

61. According to *The Hindu* of 27 June, Mannath Padmanabhan said on 25 June that his conditions for discussions with the Kerala Government were the suspension of the Education Act and the repeal of several executive orders passed during the previous two years. E.M.S. Namboodiripad also wrote to Nehru on 27 June about Padmanabhan's obduracy in this regard; see SWJN/SS/49/item 29. (a).

62. Kerala was formed on 1 November 1956.

63. The Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill, 1957.

64. See Press Conference, 7 July 1959, item 2.

26. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad: The CPI on the Congress Resolution⁶⁵

2nd July, 1959

My dear Namboodiripad,
Your letter of the 30th June.

I do not think anything was said in the resolution of the Central Parliamentary Board which would encourage people not to talk about the Education Act.⁶⁶ Obviously when a talk takes place, it is about controversial matters and not those that are not controversial. Therefore, it is these controversial matters that should not be implemented till such talks lead to any result. Personally, I do not think that it is necessary to suspend the entire Act. I am not particularly acquainted with all the details of the Act but the general approach I have suggested above seems quite right.

In the resolution of the Central Executive Committee of your party, a reference is made to some kind of a conspiracy, presumably hatched at Ooty.⁶⁷ I do not approve of any such thing and such a charge is hardly becoming, however opinions may differ.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

27. Conversation with E.M.S. Namboodiripad⁶⁸

The Kerala Chief Minister, Shri Namboodiripad, came to see me at Mashobra today. He reached here a little after 12 Noon and remained with me for about three hours in the course of which he had lunch with us. For the rest of the

65. Letter.

66. The reference is to the resolution of 29 June 1959; see SWJN/SS/49/item 57.

67. The Central Executive Committee of the National Council of the CPI which met at Trivandrum on 1 July 1959 said in a resolution that "The exchange of telegrams between some leaders of the All-India and Kerala Pradesh Congress Committees shows that it was after the deliberations at Ooty between them that the Kerala Pradesh Congress leaders were encouraged to launch a campaign of direct action calculated to 'paralyse the administration'." It also described the resolution of the Congress Parliamentary Board on Kerala as "unworthy of the leadership of a party which is ruling at the Centre and in 13 out of the 14 states of the country." *The Times of India*, 2 July 1959.

68. Note, Mashobra, Simla, 11 July 1959, copied to Indira Gandhi, the Congress President.

time, we had talks which were mostly of a rather desultory nature covering all manner of subjects, apart from Kerala. No one else was present at our talks. (I say this because the Radio announced that Indira Gandhi was present. This is not correct. She was, of course, present at the luncheon.⁶⁹ So also were my grand children.)

2. About Kerala I said that the President had apparently received a memorandum or charge-sheet from the President of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee. I had not seen this memorandum yet. Probably the President would send it to the Home Minister who will forward it to the Governor of Kerala and ask for his comments or report. We were, of course, keeping in touch with developments in Kerala and receiving frequent reports about them from various sources. I had kept our Cabinet informed, but we had thus far not had any discussion in Cabinet on this subject. We will no doubt discuss this matter in Cabinet probably on more than one occasion.

3. I said that so far as this memorandum from the Kerala Congress was concerned as well as any other step that we might take after due consideration, we will, of course, act legally and constitutionally. But what I was worried about was not the legalistic aspect of this question. We were anxious to go some way at least towards a solution of this difficult problem or at any rate, towards a lessening of tensions. Conditions had become so bad that there was practically nothing in common left between the Kerala Government and the Opposition there. There was extreme bitterness and complete lack of confidence. It was no easy matter to remove or lower the wall that separated them. It was from this point of view and in the hope that any step that we took would go some way at least towards bettering the situation, that I had suggested general elections in Kerala. I still felt that that would be the right course, although I did not think that that would end the problem. I could see no other way. The Government could go on using repressive measures and try to crush the popular movement of the Opposition. Even if this succeeded outwardly to some extent in frightening and terrorising the people, that would be no solution at all. On the other hand, if the Opposition succeeded in making the functioning of Government very difficult, that also was no solution by itself.

4. We had expressed our views strongly against picketing of schools and buses, etc. We had also disapproved of picketing of Government offices. But because of the peculiar circumstances there, we had suggested that the token

69. Newspapers also did so. For example, *The Hindu* reported from Simla, 11 July, "Mrs. Indira Gandhi was present at the talks and at the lunch which the Kerala Chief Minister had with Mr. Nehru."



K.P.C.G. HAS PRESENTED ITS CHARGESHEET AGAINST KERALA GOVT.
IT WAS IMPRESSIVE IN SPITE OF ALL PROFA GANDA.

[From left: U.N. Dhebar, Indira Gandhi, R. Sankar, Rajendra Prasad]

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 12 JULY 1959)



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 26 JULY 1959)

picketing of Government offices might be gradually tapered off. The fact was that there was such strong feeling there that our advice did not go very far and, in fact, the picketing of schools and buses was continuing. Something else had to be done. What could this be? I could not think of any other helpful course but that of elections. Of course, if elections were to be held all kinds of so-called direct action should stop and attention should be directed to normal electioneering.

5. Shri Namboodiripad appeared to agree with my analysis of the situation, apart from our suggestion for elections. But he had no other suggestion to offer. He himself said that the position was deteriorating and was now taking the form of individual and sporadic acts of violence which was deplorable. I told him that we had been much troubled by the stabbing incidents that had taken place, and I asked him if the Police had taken adequate steps to deal with those guilty of stabbing. I mentioned one particular case to which I had drawn his attention when I was at Trivandrum. The actual name of the person who had stabbed had been given in the report which I had received and which I had forwarded to him. He replied that he was not sure about any particular case, but the Police had arrested people in regard to two stabbing cases out of the three which had occurred when I was there.

6. I told him that my impression was that after a slight lull on the part of the Police following my visit, the Police had again become much more aggressive and there had again been firings on the coastal fishermen. I could not understand why these poor Catholic fishermen should be made the targets so often. Shri Namboodiripad replied that they were very bigoted Catholics and created trouble.

7. We talked about Kerala more or less on these lines for some time. The Chief Minister said finally that he would again consider our suggestion about elections, although at present they were opposed to them. They were having a meeting of the All-India Communist Party at Trivandrum soon and they would, no doubt, discuss this question fully, and he would let me know their views.⁷⁰ He asked me to write to him or to send for him at any time if I thought this necessary. I told him that I would do so should occasion for this arise.

8. Apart from Kerala we discussed generally the general situation in the world the prospects of peace and war, the formation of the Swatantra Party in India, Marxism and the effect of the great growth of technology on the original ideas of Marx, etc.

70. Namboodiripad wrote to Nehru on 17 July 1959 explaining the stand of the National Council of the CPI which met at Trivandrum from 13 to 16 July; see Appendix 33.



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 12 JULY 1959)

9. I said to him that it was generally believed that the Communist Party of Kerala had collected very large sums of money from various sources through various pressure tactics and through their cooperatives, contracts, etc. I mentioned that at the time of their Amritsar Congress, held only a few months after the formation of the Kerala Government,⁷¹ it had been announced that they had collected 25 or 30 lakhs of rupees. This was, to me, an amazing figure, because to my knowledge, the Congress had never succeeded in collecting anything like that except on the occasion of general elections when a great effort was made.

10. He explained that the figure of 20 lakhs was mentioned at Amritsar, but this money had not been collected. It was some kind of an estimate of the amount spent on a large number of public activities, meetings, etc. This seemed to me an odd explanation.

11. He then said that broadly the income of the Kerala Communist Party was about Rs. 2000/- a month, and a good part of it was derived from the contributions of Ministers and M.L.As. Ministers gave Rs. 50/- a month and Communist M.L.As also gave something which I forget. The average member of the Communist Party gave one rupee a year. Then there was some kind of a division of the monies collected between the Central Party, the State Party and the Local Party.

12. In addition to this, they had an annual drive all over India, and each State was given a quota. Thus Kerala was given Rs. 3 lakhs, Andhra Rs. 5 lakhs. This was distributed between the Central Party, the State Party and the Local Party.

13. I mentioned the income derived from sale of books which were received from the Soviet Union more or less free as well as the commission on the publications of the Soviet Government in India. He said he did not know what this could be, but he did not think this was much.

14. Finally I again laid stress on the utter lack of faith of the Opposition Parties and large numbers of people in Kerala in the bona fides of the Kerala Government. The situation created could not be dealt with by good advice from us or by ever-increasing repression.

*71. Congress of the Communist Party of India, Amritsar, April 1958.

28. To K.M. Munshi: Mulling the Right Step⁷²

The Retreat,
Mashobra
July 15, 1959

My dear Munshi,

Thank you for your letter of July 13, with which you have sent me a note on the situation in Kerala. We are giving every consideration to these developments there. As you will no doubt realise, the consequences of any step that we may take are likely to take us far. That, of course, does not mean that the right step should not be taken.⁷³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

29. To Indira Gandhi: Kerala Congress Policy on Food Production⁷⁴

The Kerala Government have drawn my attention to the Kerala Congress adopting a hostile policy regarding food production.⁷⁵ They state that the Kuttanad land holders organisation have decided not to cultivate their land comprising 1,20,000 acres. Kuttanad is supposed to be the granary of Kerala. Some of the Congress MLAs have presented a memorandum to the Governor in which they state that the removal of the Communist Ministry is a pre-condition for rice cultivation in Kuttanad.

2. At the same time, farmers affected by ceiling provisions of the legislation on land also threaten joining this anti-rice production campaign.

72. Letter.

73. Munshi's note referred to in this letter is not available. However, he published in *Bhavan's Journal* of 9 August 1959 a detailed report, in the form of a letter to "My Young Friend," on the situation in Kerala after his four-day visit to that state; he concluded that "there can be only one answer to the question I had come to study: that the Government of the State cannot be carried on according to the provisions of the Constitution."

74. Note, 21 July 1959.

75. See telegram from V.R. Krishna Iyer, Law Minister of Kerala, to Nehru, 20 July 1959, Appendix 36, and letters from E.M.S. Namboodiripad and V.R. Krishna Iyer to Nehru, 20 July 1959, Appendices 37 and 38 respectively.

3. I think that this kind of attitude of discouraging cultivation or production is very bad and cannot be justified from any point of view. It is worse even than the picketing that we disapproved of. It will lead to great unhappiness among the people. Once they do not cultivate at the right time, they will not be able to catch up during the season and the fact that political changes occur should not make any difference to them.

4. I think, therefore, this policy should be strongly discouraged. At any rate, the Congress attitude should be clear on this subject. I suggest that you might consult your colleagues and issue clear directions to the Pradesh Congress Committee against any policy of non-cultivation or non-production of food.

30. To G.B. Pant: Cooperative Farming and Refusing to Cultivate⁷⁶

21st July 1959

My dear Pantji,

I had a telegram from Krishna Iyer copy of which I enclose.⁷⁷ I think it is very improper for threats of non-cultivation of land to be raised in this connection. I have suggested to the Congress President that she might call the attention of the Congress Party in Kerala to this.

As there is some controversy about cooperative farming, it might interest you to see extracts from Congress election manifestoes of 1945, 1951 and 1957 on this subject.⁷⁸

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

76. Letter.

77. See telegram from V.R. Krishna Iyer to Nehru, 20 July 1959, Appendix 36.

78. See Appendix 30.

31. To Morarji Desai: Cooperative Farming and Refusing to Cultivate⁷⁹

21st July, 1959

My dear Morarji,⁸⁰

As there is all this talk going on about cooperative farming, you might be interested to see extracts from the Congress election manifestoes of 1945, 1951 and 1957 dealing with this matter.⁸¹

I have received a telegram from Krishna Iyer, Law Minister of Kerala, copy of which I enclose.⁸² I entirely agree with him that it is improper for food production to be brought into this arena of political controversy. I have suggested to the Congress President to make it clear to the Congress party that this should not be done.⁸³ On some occasion I shall also say so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

32. To A.P. Jain: Cooperative Farming and Refusing to Cultivate⁸⁴

July 21, 1959

My dear Ajit,⁸⁵

Thank you for your little note. You need not worry about it at all. I hope to be fit in a few days.

It might interest you to see some extracts from the Congress election manifestoes of 1945, 1951 and 1957 about cooperative farming.⁸⁶

I have received a telegram from Krishna Iyer, Law Minister of Kerala, copy of which I enclose.⁸⁷ I entirely agree with him that it is improper for food production to be brought into this arena of political controversy. I have suggested

79. Letter.

80. Union Finance Minister.

81. See Appendix 1.

82. See telegram from V.R. Krishna Iyer to Nehru, 20 July 1959, Appendix 36.

83. See Nehru's note to Indira Gandhi, 21 July 1959, item 29.

84. Letter.

85. Ajit Prasad Jain, the Minister of Food and Agriculture.

86. See Appendix 1.

87. See telegram from V.R. Krishna Iyer to Nehru, 20 July 1959, Appendix 36.

to the Congress President to make it clear to the Congress party that this should not be done.⁸⁸ On some occasion I shall also say so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

33. To V.R. Krishna Iyer: Food Production should be above Politics⁸⁹

21st July 1959

My dear Krishna Iyer,

I have received your telegram today about food production being impeded by some people or organisations.⁹⁰ I am sorry to learn this. I think that food production should be considered above all political controversies and everyone should try to do his best in regard to it. I shall make my views on this clear on a suitable occasion.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

34. To B. Ramakrishna Rao: Namboodiripad and Padmanabhan⁹¹

July 21, 1959

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,⁹²

I have just been reading your letter to the Rashtrapati dated July 16th.

As you know, I met Namboodiripad at Simla.⁹³ The whole trend of my talk with him was that if we should take any step towards a solution of the problem of Kerala, naturally we would act in accordance with the law and the Constitution. But by itself that was not enough. A step forward had to be taken. I realise that we cannot solve difficult problems suddenly. It was from this

88. See Nehru's note to Indira Gandhi, 21 July 1959, item 29.

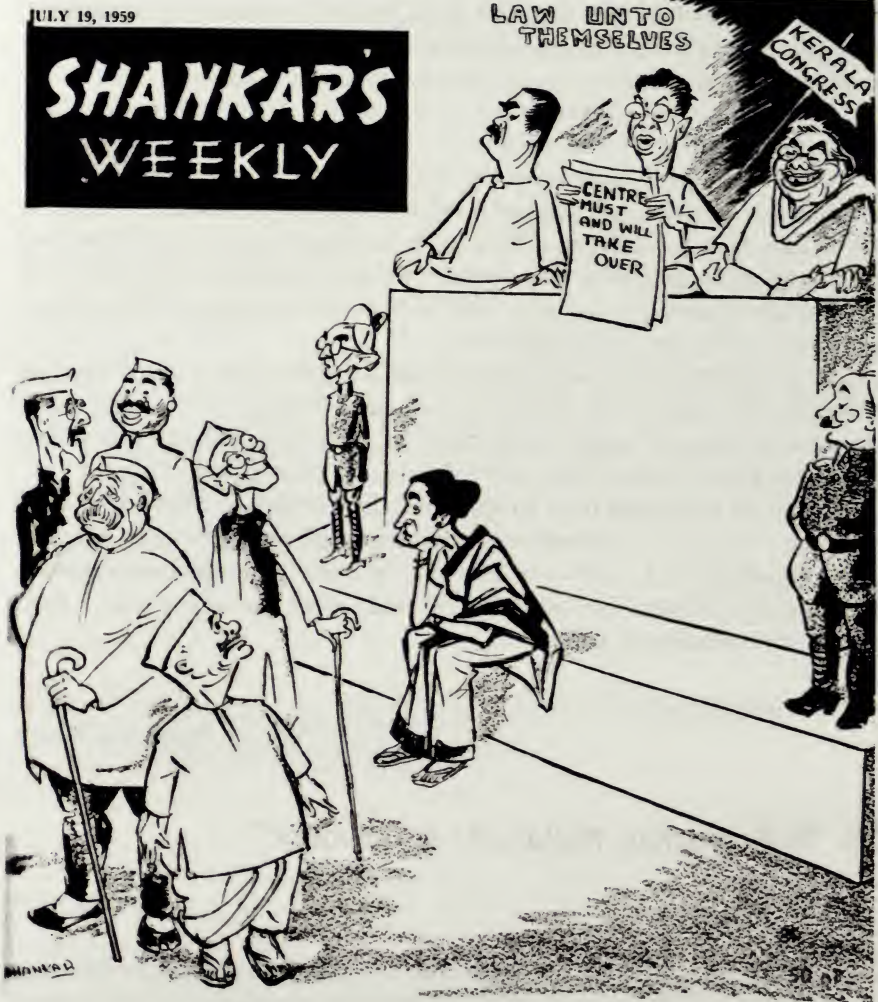
89. Letter.

90. See telegram from V.R. Krishna Iyer to Nehru, 20 July 1959, Appendix 36.

91. Letter.

92. The Governor of Kerala.

93. See Nehru's note, 11 July 1959, item 27.



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 19 JULY 1959)

point of view that I felt that elections might be held. It was not my intention to have elections or to take any step to humiliate any Party. The Kerala problem cannot be solved by any group or Party trying to crush others.

This was the general trend of my talks with him. Namboodiripad told me that they would give consideration to the question of elections.

I met Mannath Padmanabhan yesterday.⁹⁴ Our talk was rather general. I told him that I was entirely opposed to all this business of picketing and direct action and, more particularly, of boys and girls being involved in it. What kind of a future are we preparing for these boys and girls? He told me that picketing or stoppage of buses or transport vehicles had almost stopped. Only perhaps one or two odd cases a day happened.

I told him that all my training under Gandhiji rebelled against the propaganda of hatred and violence that is going on in Kerala. That was not Satyagraha or any kind of peaceful approach. Further that I did not understand how any agitational Party could refuse to have discussions with the other party.

I received a telegram from Krishna Iyer, the Kerala Law Minister, today.⁹⁵ I enclose a copy of it. I entirely agree that it is quite wrong to adopt a hostile policy regarding food production. This must be above political controversies. I am writing to Krishna Iyer accordingly⁹⁶ and, when occasion arises, I shall make some statement in public.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

35. To R. Sankar: Kuttanad Landowners⁹⁷

22nd July 1959

My dear Sankar,

I have seen reports to the effect that the landlords of Kuttanad area have declared that they will not cultivate paddy in their area till the present Kerala Government is removed. Whether the Congress has anything to do with these landholders and their organisations, I do not know. But it seems to me that this attitude is a

94. According to *The Statesman* of 18 July, Mannath Padmanabhan, on his arrival in New Delhi on 17 July from Trivandrum, had "made it clear that the agitation in Kerala would be continued so long as the Communist Government remained in power there."

95. See telegram from V.R. Krishna Iyer to Nehru, 20 July 1959, Appendix 36.

96. See Nehru to V.R. Krishna Iyer, 21 July 1959, item 33.

97. Letter.

very wrong and deplorable one and the Congress should dissociate itself from it completely. We cannot mix up our developmental activities and, more particularly, our food production with political conflicts, however important the latter might be.

There is another aspect of this. Possibly the new Agrarian Bill or Act will affect those landowners and this is their indirect way of trying to undermine it. That too is bad. The Congress organisation has to make itself clear on these issues.

The most important policy of our country at present is more food production and there can be no justification whatever for doing anything against this policy. I hope that the Kerala Congress will make this perfectly clear. I can understand that people can say many things in the prevailing excitement which they normally would not otherwise. But this business of bringing in food cultivation to a political level is dangerous in the extreme and we have to raise our voice against it. Even politically a reaction to any such move of no cultivation is going to be a very strong one against it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

36. To B.V. Keskar: Independence Day Broadcast by the Chief Minister⁹⁸

July 22, 1959

My dear Balkrishna,⁹⁹

Your letter of July 22, with a note on Kerala which I have read with interest.

As for the August 15th broadcast, I think that you should follow normal procedures. What may happen by August 15th, I do not know. But, in the event of nothing special happening, normal procedure should be followed, and the Chief Minister asked to broadcast. But the Chief Minister should be clearly informed that on that day controversial politics are not included in a broadcast. If he says something that is mildly controversial, that might be allowed to pass, but if it is something much more than that, the matter should be referred to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

98. Letter.

99. Minister of Information and Broadcasting.

37. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad: The CPI on Landowners¹⁰⁰

July 22, 1959

My dear Namboodiripad,

I have received your two letters. With one, you sent me the resolution of the National Council of the Communist Party.¹⁰¹ In the other, dated the 20th July, you refer to the decision of the land-owners of Kuttanad area not to have their lands cultivated during this season.¹⁰² I have a vague recollection that there has been a good deal of conflict between your Government and the Kuttanad land-owners during the last two years.

Anyhow, as I have written already to your Law Minister,¹⁰³ I think that it is improper to mix up developmental matters, and more especially food production, with political conflicts. Food production must be given the first priority and kept above all other conflicts.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

38. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad: KPCC Memorandum on Police Atrocity¹⁰⁴

July 23, 1959

My dear Namboodiripad,

Your letter of the 21st July.¹⁰⁵ You refer in this to the publication of some statement which was placed by Dr. K.B. Menon¹⁰⁶ on the table of the Lok Sabha. I have not seen this publication. I suppose that Dr. K.B. Menon himself has published it. Whether it is to be considered a confidential document or not, I do not know.

100. Letter.

101. See E.M.S. Namboodiripad to Nehru, 17 July 1959, Appendix 33.

102. See E.M.S. Namboodiripad to Nehru, 20 July 1959, Appendix 37.

103. See Nehru to V.R. Krishna Iyer, 21 July 1959, item 33.

104. Letter.

105. See E.M.S. Namboodiripad to Nehru, 21 July 1959, Appendix 40.

106. (1897-1967); Member, Madras Legislative Assembly, 1952-56; PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Badagara, Kerala, 1957-62..

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received.¹⁰⁷ As there is reference to someone who is seriously injured, perhaps you will be good enough to inquire into this case.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

39. To Subhadra Joshi: Proposed Demonstrations in Delhi¹⁰⁸

July 24, 1959

My dear Subhadra,¹⁰⁹

Your letter of the 24th July.

I was not aware of the fact, till I read your letter, that the Delhi P.C.C. intended organising some demonstration on the 3rd August in regard to Kerala. My information was that on this day, the 3rd August, the Communist Party is organising all-India demonstrations in support of the Kerala Government.¹¹⁰

In your letter, you have expressed your great anxiety about developments in Kerala and have asked me to intervene and put my foot down. Exactly on whom the foot should come, however, is not clear. A great deal has happened in Kerala which is very unfortunate and distressing but the basic fact there at present, as I have stated on several occasions, is a mass upsurge against the present Government there and its repression. Having much experience of political and like developments in India during the last forty years, I do not remember

107. The letter dated 21 July from the Secretary, PSP, Kuthiathode P.O., Shertallai, stated that one "Thuravoor Bhasi, P.S.P. Aroor, who ... led a jatha to Goa against the Portuguese Government ... a few years ago from T.C. State, was brutally lathi-charged and thrashed by boots by a Reserve Jamedar Govindan last day 2 p.m. while he was picketing with a batch of volunteers at the Sub-Registrar's Court, Kuthiathode." He added that Bhasi's condition was very serious and requested Nehru to arrange medical care for him.

108. Letter, copied to Indira Gandhi. Subhadra Joshi's letter, in original, was also sent to her.

109. Subhadra Joshi, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Delhi.

110. A spokesman of the National Council of the CPI said in Trivandrum on 16 July that the party would organize demonstrations in New Delhi and all state capitals on 3 August 1959 to mobilize public opinion in defence of the Kerala Government; the demonstration in New Delhi would coincide with the opening of the monsoon session of Parliament; and the campaign in defence of the Communist ministry would continue throughout India. *The Times of India*, 17 July 1959.

JULY 26, 1959

THE KERALA PUZZLE

SHANKAR'S
WEEKLY



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 26 JULY 1959)

seeing anything like what is happening in Kerala and the passions that have been roused there. Whatever the reasons, it is not small matter for over one hundred thousand men and women to have been arrested in this small State in the course of the last month. Many of these were subsequently released. Only yesterday, the number of arrests was 4,800 including a large number of women. But what is much more distressing is the increasing brutality that is coming into the picture, with the Malabar Special Police having been brought out of Malabar to deal with this situation. They are pretty tough, as they were enrolled especially to deal with the Moplas.

In your letter, there seems to be no appreciation of what actually is happening in Kerala.

It has not been my practice for some considerable time to issue directions or even to give advice to the local Congress people. No one has asked me about Kerala or what they should do. But I see no reason why, if they so choose, they should not demonstrate on this subject when presumably the Communist Party is going to have their own demonstrations.¹¹¹

Anyhow, I shall have to deal with the Kerala matter on a different level and I do not wish to get entangled in local politics over this affair.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

40. To Y.B. Chavan: The Worsening Situation in Kerala¹¹²

July 25, 1959

My dear Chavan,

The enclosed letter might interest you. I am not sending an answer to it and you need not trouble to write to me about it.

I hope you are coming here for the Congress Working Committee meeting on the 16th August onwards. We want to utilise that time to discuss other matters also.

111. The newspapers do not report any demonstration by the Delhi PCC on the mentioned date. However, *The Hindustan Times* reported on 4 August that a ten thousand strong procession of Communists "marched four-deep and a mile long from the Ramlila Grounds to Parliament House" on the afternoon of 3 August to protest against central intervention in Kerala.

112. Letter.

Meanwhile the Kerala situation is becoming progressively worse.¹¹³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

41. To G.B. Pant: Namboodiripad's Charges against GOI and Congress¹¹⁴

26th July, 1959

My dear Pantji,

I enclose a letter which I have received this morning from Namboodiripad. The letter is a brief one but to this is added a press statement¹¹⁵ which has partly appeared in the newspapers today. There are also various police reports.

I am sending this to you so that you may just glance through it. You need not trouble to read all the police reports.

I shall send an answer to this letter some time this evening.¹¹⁶ I shall probably come and see you in the afternoon when I can take back this letter.

There is one thing about which I am not clear in my mind. Namboodiripad has made a public appeal to me and others of our Government and asked us certain questions. Am I supposed to answer him equally publicly? I do not like the idea of entering into a controversy in this way.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

113. The Vimochana Samara Samiti, or the liberation struggle committee, and opposition parties in Kerala, namely, the Congress, the PSP, the Muslim League and the Revolutionary Socialist Party, in separate announcements in Trivandrum on 25 July, threatened a "siege" of Trivandrum on 9 August by their "massive forces", saying they would leave the state capital only after ousting the Communists from power. *The Times of India*, 26 July 1959.

114. Letter.

115. See the Press statement of E.M.S. Namboodiripad, 25 July 1959, Appendix 43.

116. See Nehru to E.M.S. Namboodiripad, 26 July 1959, item 42.

42. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad: Reply to Charges¹¹⁷

July 26, 1959

My dear Namboodiripad,

I received your letter of the 25th July today. I have read the statement you have issued to the Press¹¹⁸ with considerable surprise. In this statement, you ask me and others what we would do if acts of violence and destruction were committed in other States by the Opposition parties there, and further whether the State Government in Kerala is not entitled to the same protection at our hands as other State Governments.

This implies that the central Government has been denying you any help or protection which you have required or asked for. I am not aware of any request of yours in this connection which we have rejected. Some weeks ago, your Government addressed our Defence Ministry and we gave you the usual answer which is sent to State Governments. This was to the effect that the normal help and protection would be given to your State as to other States in like circumstances. In fact, certain flag marches by the military were arranged, which is not usually done. Also, the protection of some petrol depots etc. was taken over by the Naval garrison. Some army movements also took place so that, in case of need, these forces should be available. I do not know of what other request you made to the Government of India, or in what other way you expected us to help you in dealing with the situation.

If, on the other hand, you are referring to sympathy or support given by the Congress organisation to some of the activities of the Opposition, surely you should know that we have tried our utmost to check these activities. The Government of India and the Congress organisation as such are not identical, and there are limits beyond which the Government cannot control strong public reactions. I do think that our efforts have helped considerably in checking certain activities and in the avoidance of violence. Certainly we have some influence with the Congress organisation, even though that was limited in the circumstances, but as far as other organisations are concerned, even that influence is lacking. Indeed, the whole agitation in Kerala is too deep-seated and widespread to be controlled by advice from us.

In your own Press statement, you refer to Shri Mannath Padmanabhan and Shri Pattom Thanu Pillai as having returned from Delhi disappointed at the central Government's attitude. Then again, in your Press statement, you refer

117. Letter.

118. See the Press statement of E.M.S. Namboodiripad, 25 July 1959, Appendix 43.

'Markandeya'



The Kerala Chief Minister said that the only way out of the impasse in the state is for the Prime Minister to make the Opposition adopt the method of mutual discussion.

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 26 JULY 1959)

to Shri T.K. Narayana Pillai¹¹⁹ having participated in some token picketing and having later advised others to disperse, but his advice was not followed.

Apart from the strongest emphasis that we have laid on the avoidance of anything even approaching violence, we have condemned quite unequivocally the picketing of schools, buses etc. Indeed, I have expressed myself clearly even against the picketing of Government offices.

I do not wish to go into the facts of what has taken place because apparently there are sometimes different versions. I am writing to you chiefly to express my regret at the kind of charge that you have brought against the central Government.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

43. To B. Ramakrishna Rao: Central Intervention¹²⁰

No. Primin-21111.

Governor from Prime Minister.

After prolonged consideration of the situation in Kerala and your report thereon to the President, Cabinet has decided to accept your recommendation for action to be taken under Article 356 of the Constitution and has recommended accordingly to the President who has been pleased to accept this recommendation. It is intended that proclamation under this Article should be signed by the President tomorrow, July 31st, evening at about six when Gazette of India will also be issued containing this Proclamation. It will take effect immediately. Copy of Proclamation is being sent to you by air tonight. You will no doubt take steps to have it issued tomorrow evening in the Kerala State Gazette.

2. I would like you to send for Chief Minister Namboodiripad as early as possible and inform him of this decision of President and that it will take effect tomorrow evening.

3. It is most important that agitation led by Opposition Groups must stop completely and immediately. This must be made perfectly clear to leaders of

119. (d. 1969); Congressman from Kerala popularly known as "Parur TK"; participated in the freedom movement; Chief Minister of Travancore, 1948-49; Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin, 1949-51, and Minister for Food, Labour and Education in the ministry headed by C. Kesavan.

120. Telegram, 30 July 1959.

AUGUST 2, 1959

SHANKAR'S WEEKLY



[Behind the Counter, Ramakrishna Rao, Governor of Kerala; making inquiries, E.M.S. Namboodiripad, the Chief Minister]

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 2 AUGUST 1959)

Opposition Groups, who might be sent for by you. Indeed, there must be no attempts on part of Opposition to celebrate this change-over or to have so called Deliverance Day.¹²¹ This also must be quite clear to them. If necessity arises, you may even prohibit meetings and processions for a week or so. Opposition leaders must be told that even if there is any provocation on the part of others, they must not retaliate or arrange demonstrations.

4. You should also request Namboodiripad and his colleagues to avoid any demonstrations.

5. You will please refer to us if any special step has to be taken. So far as people convicted in course of agitation are concerned, most of them are presumably for very short terms. There need be no hurry to release them. Matter can be considered if necessary, later. In any event, any person charged with violence should not be released till his case has been more fully examined.

6. You have a difficult and delicate task. You will of course have all help and advice from us, and I am sure that you will shoulder this burden worthily. I hope you are better now.

7. Please convey following message from me to Namboodiripad.

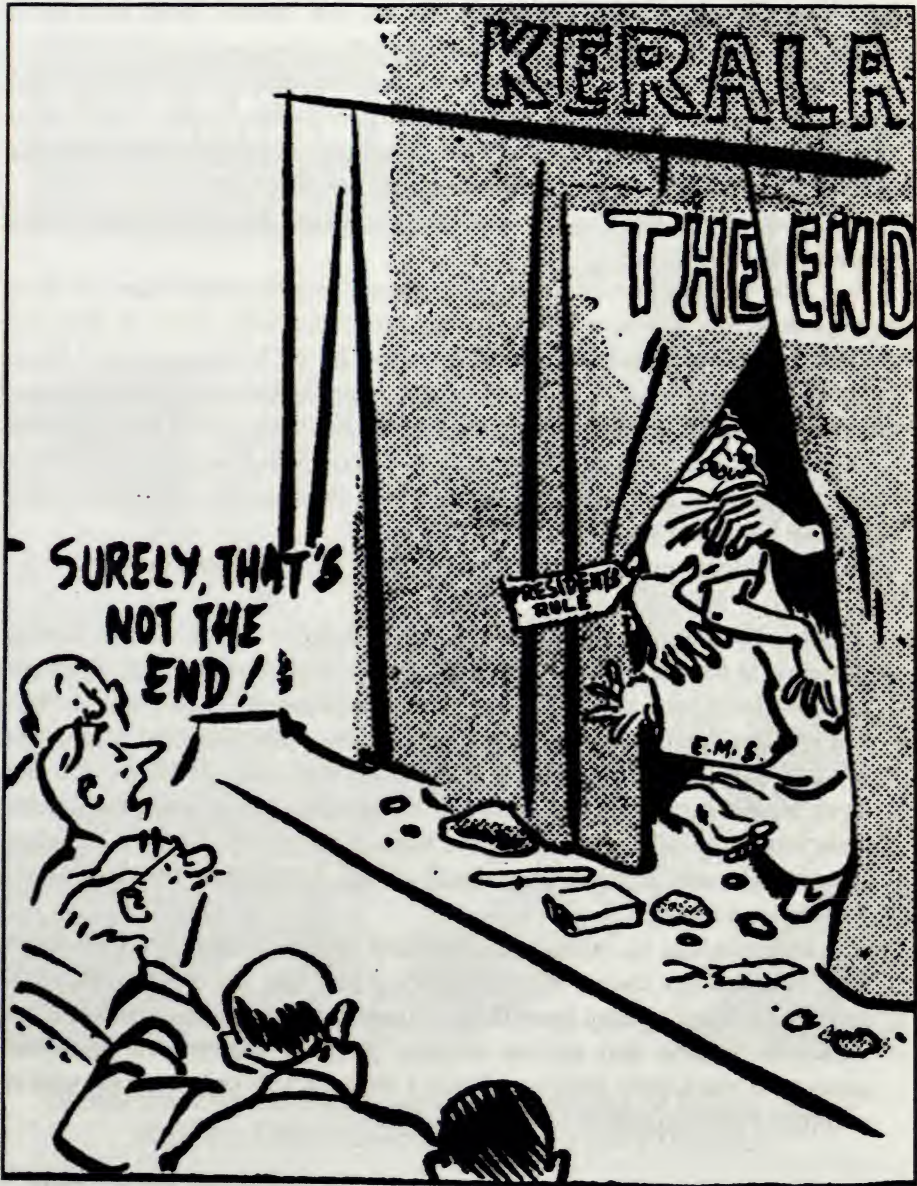
Begins. You know how deeply concerned we have been at the developing situation in Kerala. We have given the most anxious and prolonged thought to it. We have been most reluctant to have any kind of Central intervention, but we have felt that it is no longer possible to allow matters to deteriorate, leading to continuing conflicts and human suffering. We have felt that even from the point of view of your Government, it is better for Central intervention to take place now. We have therefore advised the President accordingly, and he has accepted that advice. The Proclamation will issue tomorrow evening.

I should like to express my gratitude to you for the courtesy which you have always shown to me and my regret that circumstances should have developed as they have done. I hope that some time later, you can meet me here so that we can discuss, perhaps with others, important aspects of the Kerala problem which, I am sure, can only be dealt with in a spirit of understanding and cooperation.

Jawaharlal Nehru. Ends.¹²²

121. The KPCC organized a "Deliverance Day" hartal in the State on 12 June 1959.

122. Namboodiripad's reply to Nehru, 1 August 1959, see Appendix 50.



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 2 AUGUST 1959)

44. To B. Ramakrishna Rao: Analysis and Future Policy¹²³

July 30, 1959

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

I have this evening sent you a top secret telegram.¹²⁴ I enclose a copy of this.

This Kerala matter has troubled and disturbed us greatly because it raised basic questions of policy and practice and the consequences of all that has happened are likely to be far-reaching in the whole of India. After long discussions in Cabinet we came to the inevitable conclusion that Article 356 of the Constitution should be applied. We did so with the greatest reluctance. This is not a good precedent and it goes against the kind of conventions which we would like to establish in this country. Also, we feel that whatever the sins of omission or commission of the Kerala Communist Government might have been, the methods adopted by the Opposition were not desirable. Those who want equity must come with clean hands. The Opposition did not have clean hands and their methods were certainly not such as to be commended.

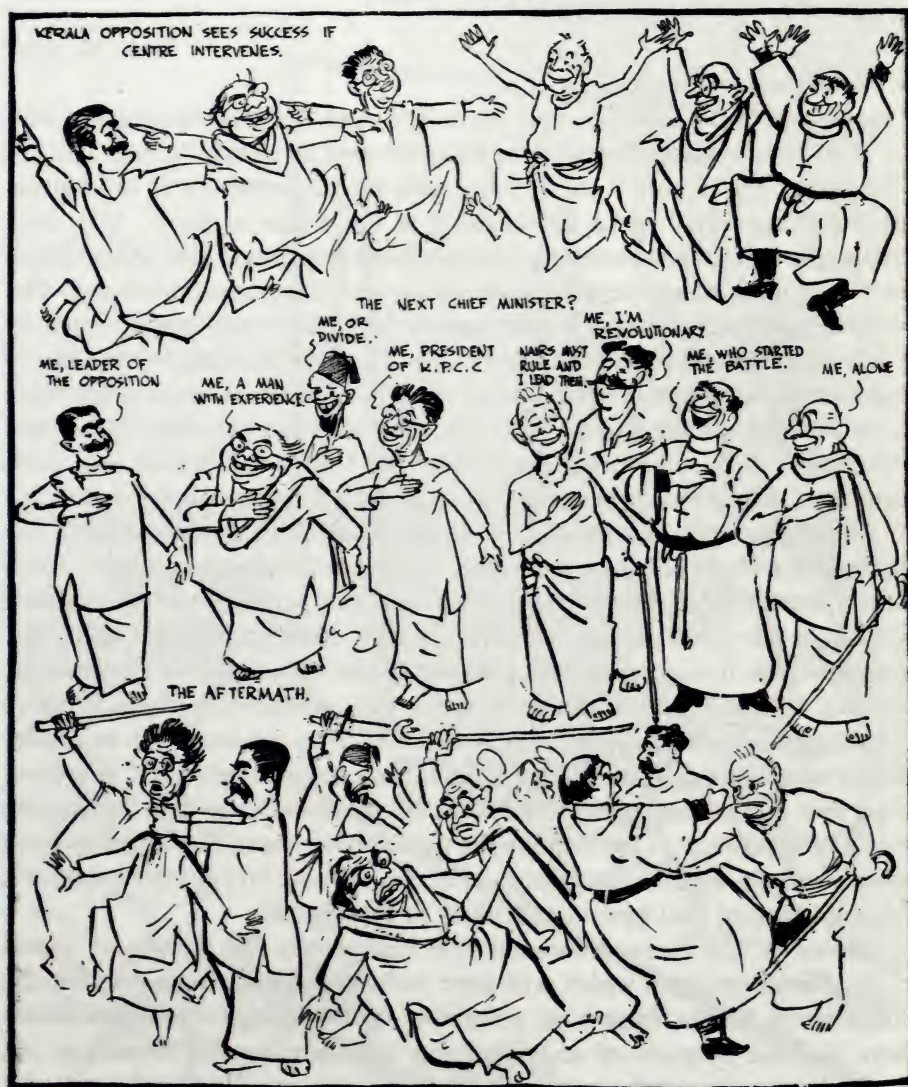
We are particularly sorry that the Congress in Kerala got entangled in this matter in the way it did. To some extent, we here in Delhi were to blame, not so much for what we did but what we did not do. It is perfectly true, as you have said, that this great agitation in Kerala rose above communal and other considerations. It represented a deep feeling against the communist Government. The fact, however, remains that the leaders of this agitation broadly represented communal and reactionary elements in Kerala. They are not likely to lie low, having tasted blood. They will try to drive hard bargains with the Congress at every step, and we shall have to meet difficult situations. Apart from the negative aspect of opposition to the Communist Government, there is not very much in common between the various parties in the Opposition. Whenever a test comes, this joint front of the Opposition is likely to disintegrate.

However, that question does not arise immediately. But there is one aspect of the Kerala problem which will have to be faced some time or other. As things are in Kerala, there is no possibility of any stable Government unless there is some measure of understanding and some basic conventions are established between different parties, whether in the majority or in the minority. Indeed, democratic functioning means such conventions. Some Congress leaders in Kerala have made very foolish speeches saying that they will fight the Communist even if the latter win any election again. That, of course, is the

123. Letter.

124. See item 43.

United Kerala!



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 12 JULY 1959)

negation of democracy. Altogether, the type of speeches that have been delivered in Kerala have often been highly objectionable.

The Opposition has been up against the Communist Government in Kerala. It would be wrong and very harmful to make this a kind of a crusade against what is called Communism in general or International Communism. If that is done, we may as well be putting an end to our international policy of non-alignment.

The immediate issue before you is to meet the situation that will arise after the Proclamation. What the Communists will do, I do not know, but probably they will demonstrate. Probably also the Opposition will want to celebrate the so-called deliverance and have victory parades and the like. Any such attempt will lead to conflict. Therefore, I have suggested to you in the telegram that all such celebrations and demonstrations should be avoided. If necessary, you can even formally ban them for a week or so till we see how things fashion themselves. So far as the leaders of the Opposition are concerned, they must be told with the greatest clarity and firmness that we cannot permit any more agitation of the type they have been carrying on, direct action, etc. Further, that any attempt to celebrate their so-called victory would react against them and do them injury. Even if Communists are aggressive, the Opposition should remain calm and not retaliate.

About release of prisoners, I have suggested that you need not be in a hurry to do anything. Most of these people possibly have been sentenced to very short periods, probably a week or two. There is no need to have a general jail delivery, which again may lead to some celebrations and all that. If it is a question of a few days or a week or two, let them serve out their sentences and come out. You may, if you feel like it, in the case of any important persons, gradually let a few out, but even that must not be done immediately. So far as any person arrested for any alleged act of violence is concerned, he should not be released at all till his case has been thoroughly examined.

I have given you a brief message on my behalf for Namboodiripad.¹²⁵ I hope you will try to maintain good relations with him and the members of the old Government. In fact, you might ask them for a measure of their cooperation in developing a calm and peaceful atmosphere.

Some time or other, elections will have to come. But they are not likely to take place for many months. It is essential that there should be a calm atmosphere for these elections. If any people make trouble that will mean delaying those elections. That should be realised.

125. See Nehru's message for E.M.S. Namboodiripad, 30 July 1959, item 43, here p. 85.

For the present, V. Shankar¹²⁶ has been sent there, and he will be put on special duty to help you. That is a temporary arrangement. If necessity arises, more adequate arrangements can also be made.

All our good wishes and sympathies are with you in this difficult situation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

45. To B. Ramakrishna Rao: Sporadic Violence¹²⁷

No. Primin 21112.

Governor from Prime Minister.

Following telegram received from Secretariat Communist Party Kerala State Committee:

Quote: Within few hours news Central intervention Communist Party Offices and houses party workers attacked in many places by violent mob under Congress Church. Party Office attacked in Changanacherry Niranma Mallappalli and Kaviyoor in Kottayam Alleppey district. Vanchiyoore Party Office in Trivandrum raided today furniture papers destroyed. Jewellers shop Changanacherry looted MLA Kalyanakrishnan's house surrounded by volunteers inmates surrounded inmates detained. Many houses of Communists workers under violent attack please take note. Unquote.

Following telegram received from Kurur Nambudiripad,¹²⁸ Trichur:

Quote: Communist begin organised goondaism. Imported goondas parading. Samara Samithy¹²⁹ car held up near Trichur inmates attacked with cutting knives axe handles. Two wounded hospitalised. One serious. Ibrahim chased brutally assaulted hospitalised. Karunakara Menon teacher Kottakad School attacked on road hospitalised goondas trespassed Mundathikkode High School threatened Headmaster. Apprehend further attack. Unquote.

I hope that immediate steps will be taken to stop all kinds of hooliganism and violence by whoever committed. Early and effective action will probably stop it. Otherwise this may spread.

126. V. Shankar, ICS, Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs and formerly Secretary to Vallabhbhai Patel, 1947-50, arrived in Trivandrum on 30 July.

127. Telegram, 31 July 1959.

128. President, District Congress Committee, Trichur.

129. Vimochana Samara Samiti.

46. To Ajoy Ghosh: Hooliganism¹³⁰

July 31, 1959

Dear Ajoy Ghosh,¹³¹

I have your letter sending me copy of a telegram.¹³² That telegram has been received by me directly also and I have immediately communicated it to the Governor of Kerala.¹³³ I agree with you that all kinds of hooliganism must be ended.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(vi) North East

47. To Saiyid Fazl Ali: Assam's Grievances¹³⁴

July 1, 1959

My dear Fazl Ali,¹³⁵

I have just received your letter of June 27th. In your letter you have referred to some of the points raised by the Chief Minister.¹³⁶ I shall certainly have these matters enquired into immediately, more especially in regard to the employment of Assamese people in Central Services and industries, the question of the Assamese officers in the Education Department of NEFA and the question of the Assamese language in NEFA.¹³⁷

130. Letter. File 1959, CPI Archives, Ajoy Bhavan, 15 Comrade Indrajit Gupta Marg, New Delhi-110002.

131. General Secretary, CPI.

132. Ajoy Ghosh wrote, "I hope you will note that the telegram does not make vague and general allegations but gives details about the attacks that have started and are likely to continue and even intensify;" and asked for immediate steps "to prevent such things."

133. See telegram from Nehru to B. Ramakrishna Rao, 31 July 1959, item 45.

134. Letter.

135. The Governor of Assam.

136. See B.P. Chaliha, the Chief Minister of Assam, to Saiyid Fazl Ali, 25 June 1959, Appendix 6.

137. Nehru copied Chaliha's letter to S. Fazl Ali to G.B. Pant, Morarji Desai, S.K. Patil, Jagjivan Ram and Lal Bahadur Shastri, Minister of Commerce and Industry, on 1 July. The same day he also wrote to Subimal Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, on issues relating to NEFA.

The fourth point about communal relationship is, if I may say so, rather naïve. To tell us to resolve our disputes with Pakistan as early as possible is not very helpful. The matter does not wholly lie with us.

As for the flood situation¹³⁸ we shall try to help you in every way. Apart from such help as the Central Government might give, I have already sent Rs.100,000/- to the Chief Minister out of the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund.

I saw some papers the other day in which a suggestion was made by you to the President that he should start a President's Relief Fund for the victims of the Assam floods. The President, I think quite rightly, replied that the right course is for the Governor to start such a fund. I hope you have done so. I am enclosing a cheque for Rs. 500/- for this Governor's Relief Fund for the flood victims. This is a personal contribution and not out of any fund at my disposal.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

48. To Swaran Singh: Assam Government in Oil Ventures¹³⁹

1st July, 1959

My dear Swaran Singh,¹⁴⁰

I enclose a copy of a letter from the Chief Minister of Assam to the Governor of Assam,¹⁴¹ which the Governor has sent me. This contains a number of complaints about the injustice done to the people of Assam in various ways. I am writing to the Ministries concerned about these matters.

I am sending this letter to you particularly because of its reference to oil exploration, etc. The Assam Government feel very strongly that they should be associated in a formal way with the companies being formed in Assam in connection with the exploitation of oil, such as the refinery, etc. I spoke to Keshava Deva Malaviya¹⁴² on this subject and suggested to him that we should

138. See item 1, here p. 7.

139. Letter. File No. 17 (290)/58-69-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

140. Minister of Steel, Mines & Fuel.

141. See B.P. Chaliha to Saiyid Fazl Ali, 25 June 1959, Appendix 6.

142. Minister of State for Mines and Oil.

agree to the Assam Government's proposal.¹⁴³ To what extent, is another matter. Keshava Deva wrote to me giving a number of reasons why this is not desirable.¹⁴⁴ Many of the reasons were valid. But the fact remains that we cannot proceed in such matters on some basis of rigid logic.

Personally, I think that, as a rule, we should encourage State Governments to have a share in these Central undertakings. This gives them a sensation of being partners and that is important. In the case of Assam, this is particularly important because of their old feeling of not getting a fair deal.

I am writing to Keshava Deva also on this subject and sending him a copy of the Chief Minister's letter. You might discuss this with him and then we can have a talk together, if necessary.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

49. To K.D. Malaviya: Assam Government in Oil Ventures¹⁴⁵

1st July, 1959

My dear Keshava,

I am enclosing a copy of a letter from the Chief Minister of Assam to the Governor of Assam,¹⁴⁶ which the Governor has sent me. This letter deals with a variety of complaints. I am having these looked into.

My reason for sending this to you is the reference to oil exploitation in Assam and the repetition of the proposal that Assam should participate in the companies to be formed for this purpose. You have written to me about this matter and given reasons why we should not agree to this.¹⁴⁷ Your reasons are valid. Nevertheless, I am not sure that our decision is a right one. We have to give them a sensation of being partners and that is more important than some purely logical exercise.

143. See also Nehru to Keshava Deva Malaviya, 9 June 1959, SWJN/SS/49/item 211.

144. See excerpts from Keshava Deva Malaviya to Nehru, 22 June 1959, Appendix 5.

145. Letter. K.D. Malaviya Papers, NMML. Also available in File No. 17 (290)/58-69-PMS.

146. See B.P. Chaliha to Saiyid Fazl Ali, 25 June 1959, Appendix 6.

147. See excerpts from Keshava Deva Malaviya to Nehru, 22 June 1959, Appendix 5.

I want you, therefore, to consider this matter again fully. I have written to Swaran Singh also on this subject¹⁴⁸ and you might have a talk with him.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

50. To B.P. Chaliha: Help for Assam¹⁴⁹

July 1, 1959

My dear Chaliha,¹⁵⁰

Your Governor, Shri Syed Fazl Ali, has sent me a copy of your letter to him dated 25th June 1959¹⁵¹ in which you refer to various matters and express concern at the policies of the Central Government in regard to the employment of Assamese, etc. I am having all these matters examined immediately by the Ministries concerned and I shall write to you again on the subject.

I need not tell you that far from doing any injustice to Assam, we are anxious to go somewhat out of our way to help Assam in its development in various ways.

You have to face a tremendous flood situation. All our sympathies are with you. We shall help you to the best of our ability. I have sent Rs.100,000/- to you by two cheques of 50,000/- each from the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund for giving relief to the victims of the floods.¹⁵²

A proposal has been made for the Governor of Assam to start a relief fund. He had suggested for the President to do so. But it has been pointed out that the proper course would be for the Governor to do so and for the President to give his valued support to it. I hope that such a fund will be started soon by the Governor. I have written to him about it.

I have not been keeping very fit and feel rather tired and stale. Next week I hope to go out of Delhi for about a week or ten days.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

148. See Nehru to Swaran Singh, 1 July 1959, item 48.

149. Letter.

150. The Chief Minister of Assam.

151. See Appendix 6.

152. On 1 July, Nehru wrote to Morarji Desai about the rehabilitation of floods victims.

51. To Saiyid Fazl Ali: Assam's Grievances¹⁵³

31st July 1959

My dear Fazl Ali,

Thank you for your letter of July 24. It is pleasing to learn that Naga Hills affairs are progressively settling down, I know how hard you have worked to this end. It must be a peculiar satisfaction to you that your work has borne fruit.

A little over a month ago, on June 27, you sent me a letter together with a copy of a letter from the Chief Minister.¹⁵⁴ In this reference was made to a number of matters. I have an idea that the Assam Government has already been informed about some of these matters.

We have taken action about the use of Assamese in the NEFA schools and on the employment of Assamese officers in the Education Department of NEFA.¹⁵⁵

As for the employment of Assamese in Central Services and industries I circulated your letter to all the principal employing Ministries and Departments at the Centre and, more particularly, Railways and Posts & Telegraphs. The answers I got showed an awareness of this problem and a desire to meet it.

I have also drawn the attention of our Ministry dealing with the refinery and gas projects in Assam to the desire of Assam to be associated with them.¹⁵⁶ We shall go as far as we can to meet the wishes of the Assam Govt in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

153. Letter.

154. See B.P. Chaliha to Saiyid Fazl Ali, 25 June 1959, Appendix 6.

155. See Nehru's note to Subimal Dutt, 21 July 1959, item 83.

156. See items 48 and 49.

52. To Morarji Desai: Border Security¹⁵⁷

July 31, 1959

My dear Morarji,

Your letter of 31st July about security problems on our North-East border. These problems are of considerable variety, as you have yourself pointed out. Undoubtedly, there should be coordination. In so far as NEFA, Naga Hills and Tuensang area, Assam and the Assam Rifles are concerned Governor of Assam is more or less the coordinating authority already. The present Governor Fazl Ali has been of very great help in these matters. But in effect that real coordination has to be done here, at headquarters because there are so many important interests involved. Any Military Adviser who might be appointed there should obviously keep in close touch with the Governor. It is not quite clear what else we could evolve at present. The comparison with the Political Adviser is not helpful because the Political Adviser deals with limited tribal areas.

At present as you know the Governor is not at all well; in fact, he has been very ill. There will be little point in giving him greater burdens to carry.

I am putting some of my difficulties before you and I am not clear how we can function in the manner suggested by you. Perhaps this matter could be considered more fully in its various aspects. In any event the matters are so important that the Central Government will always have to be in the picture.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

157. Letter, copied to Govind Ballabh Pant.

(vii) Punjab

53. To Partap Singh Kairon: Eviction of Tenants¹⁵⁸

July 3, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,¹⁵⁹

This morning a number of very unhappy and rather miserable looking men came to see me and gave me the attached petition.¹⁶⁰ I know nothing about this matter. But I think it deserves some enquiry as your name is mentioned. We are all against evictions. Why then should these people be evicted?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

54. To Partap Singh Kairon: Automobile Dealership to Kairon's Son¹⁶¹

July 6, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

Your letter of July 3 in which you say that your son¹⁶² has been invited to become an Agent of Premier Automobiles, Bombay. Further that he will be one of five such dealers in the Punjab.

In view of the fact that the Punjab Government purchases vehicles directly from the manufacturers, it would appear that there is nothing objectionable in your son becoming an Agent for this purpose. Nevertheless, my own inclination is that it would be better for your son not to take this agency at the present moment. There are, I believe, cases going on in which your son is involved. It may also be said that if the Punjab Government buys vehicles even directly,

158. Letter.

159. The Chief Minister of Punjab.

160. Tenants of village Dhani in Sangrur district in Punjab complained against Punjab Government officials and the Chief Minister.

161. Letter.

162. Surinder Singh Kairon.

some kind of commission may be given to your son for them. It is difficult to go about explaining all these things to the public. On the whole, therefore, I think that it would be better for your son not to accept this agency.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

You Said It

BY LAXMAN



Uncle, what's nepotism?

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 21 JULY 1959)

55. To Ajit Singh Sarhadi: Insulating Gurdwaras from Controversy¹⁶³

July 8, 1959

Dear Ajit Singhji,¹⁶⁴

I have your letter of the 5th July. I would certainly like the Gurdwaras to be kept quite apart from political controversies. So also the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandak Committee.

Your proposal to keep out legally from the S.G.P.C. every member of the Legislature, Parliament or Local Body seems rather far-reaching. But, if people agree to it, I can have no objection.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

56. To N.V. Gadgil: Governor's Talks with Tara Singh¹⁶⁵

The Retreat,
Mashobra,
July 17, 1959

My dear Gadgil,

Thank you for your note informing me of your talk with Master Tara Singh.¹⁶⁶

I was much concerned to learn of your car accident. I hope that this was nothing serious.

My visit to Mashobra has not been a remarkable success. Indeed, ever since I came here, I have not been quite well, and for the last three days I have been in bed with some fever. Anyhow, I intend leaving Mashobra day after tomorrow morning and reaching Chandigarh about 12-30 P.M.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

163. Letter.

164. (b. 1905); member, NWFP Assembly, 1937-46, and Minister, 1943-45; member, SGPC, since 1941; member, Working Committee of Shiromani Akali Dal, since 1941, and its Senior Vice-President, 1956-57; Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Punjab, 1957-62.

165. Letter.

166. A prominent leader of the Akali Dal and proponent of the demand for a Sikh-majority state.

57. To Partap Singh Kairon: Tubewell Enquiry¹⁶⁷

July 24, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

I have received a letter from Gian Singh Rarewala¹⁶⁸ today. He refers again to the tubewell enquiry.¹⁶⁹ He points out that this has been going on now for over two months and the entire records were taken away by the police. He is apprehensive that this long delay might lead to tampering of these records or interpolations being made in them. In fact, he asks me to arrange for the proper protection of these records from such tampering.

KAIRON WILL SUBMIT TUBEWELL
ENQUIRY FINDINGS TO HIGH COMMAND,
WILL HE PUMP OUT RAREWALA?



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 5 JULY 1959)

167. Letter.

168. A Minister in the Government of Punjab.

169. The enquiry into the unauthorized sale of tubewells by Rarewala's son; see SWJN/SS/49/ items 84 and 85.

I have discussed this case with you fairly fully. I cannot understand why such a simple affair should take months of enquiry. Also, as I told you, I am disturbed at one aspect of it, that is, an enquiry into the conduct of a colleague in the Cabinet while he continues in the Cabinet. All these matters raise rather important issues of constitutional convention. A member of the Cabinet naturally should look up to his chief for protection. If he feels that the chief has no faith in him or distrusts him, then an odd position is created.

But, in any event, why should this matter not be dealt with simply and finally?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

58. To N.V. Gadgil: Governor's Talks with Yadavendra Singh¹⁷⁰

July 31, 1959

My dear Gadgil,

Your letter of the 23rd July with a note of your talks with the Maharaja of Patiala. I have read this note with interest. On one or two previous occasions, some time back, the Maharaja has spoken to me to some extent on the same lines.

It is all very well to say that attempts should be made to bring about some understanding between various Sikh leaders and then between the Hindus and the Sikhs. In theory, that seems to be all right and, if that happens, well and good. But our attempts in the past to bring about such understandings have not been remarkably successful. Indeed, such attempts usually mean bringing together the extreme elements of communal groups. So far as Master Tara Singh is concerned, the only kind of understanding that he believes in is to acknowledge his supremacy among the Sikhs and to carry out his wishes. I must say that my experience of dabbling in these matters has not been a happy one.

If the Maharaja of Patiala wishes to do anything or help in toning down conflicts and animosities, of course, he is welcome to do so. But this will naturally have to be done by him in his individual capacity. It will not be right

170. Letter.

for us to give him some kind of a special authority to do so.

So far as the Punjab is concerned, the initial responsibility is that of the Government there and the Chief Minister. It might be a good thing if the Maharaja spoke to Sardar Partap Singh Kairon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(viii) Rajasthan

59. To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Cabinet Changes¹⁷¹

July 5, 1959

My dear Sukhadia,¹⁷²

Some time ago you mentioned to me that you were thinking of making an addition to your Cabinet by having Mathur¹⁷³ in it. Further that Kumbha Ram¹⁷⁴ might go to Parliament. I told you then, I think, that Kumbha Ram certainly should not be taken in your Cabinet as he has a bad record. As one of the large number of M.Ps here he would be pretty harmless.

I forgot about this matter, but recently I have heard about it again from Indiraji, and we have had some talk with Pantji and other Members of the Parliamentary Board here on this subject. We think that Rajasthan is doing very well now. It has a good record and it appears that the old conflicts have gone down greatly, even if they have not completely disappeared. From this point of view, anything that revives those old conflicts would be bad. Also, both Mathur and Kumbha Ram have a history insofar as Congress work is concerned. Normally it will not be right to revive this history. Further, if your proposal is given effect to, we would have two elections. Whether we win the elections or not is another matter. But undoubtedly these elections will arouse a good deal of internal criticism and bitterness, and the Congress Party will be affected by it. There would also be much public criticism.

Having regard to all these matters, it seems to us that it would be unwise to upset the present balance and bring in Mathur into your Cabinet, involving two

171. Letter.

172. The Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

173. Mathuradas Mathur, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Nagaur, Rajasthan.

174. Kumbha Ram Arya was Congress MLA in the Rajasthan Assembly, 1952-57.

elections and all that. I have little doubt that there would be much talk about this even in Parliament here as well as outside. The smooth working of your Government and Congress in Rajasthan might be adversely affected.¹⁷⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ix) Uttar Pradesh

60. To Sampurnanand: Using Mohanlal Saksena¹⁷⁶

July 2, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,¹⁷⁷

I am writing to you about Mohanlal Saksena¹⁷⁸ whom I saw this morning after his return from Kashmir. I have often discussed various proposals of his with him and he writes at great length also. I think that some of his ideas and proposals are good, but somehow they are wrapped up in so much verbiage and sometimes criticism that they do not create much of an impression. Yet the fact remains that some of his ideas are good.

Thus he has studied a great deal about housing corporations, about cooperatives, about some kind of labour levy, about orchards, about small dairies, etc.

Unfortunately he has become very frustrated and it is never good for any one. He has a feeling of being ignored completely and put on the shelf. I should like to remove that feeling, in so far as we can, and, where possible, to profit by his ideas. We might even try them in a small experimental scale.

I am writing to you not to find any particular work for him or a post. That is far from my intention. But I suggest that you may give him some time and

175. Kumbha Ram Arya was elected to the Rajya Sabha in April 1960; Mathuradas Mathur was inducted in the state cabinet in 1962.

176. Letter.

177. The Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

178. Mohanlal Saksena, General Secretary of UP Provincial Congress Committee, 1928-35, and Rehabilitation Minister, GOI, 1948-50, had been entreating Nehru for the past several years to provide him some appropriate work either in the Congress organization or elsewhere; see SWJN/SS/38/pp. 366-367 and SWJN/SS/46/p. 645, for Nehru's concern for Saksena. Saksena was nominated to the Rajya Sabha in November 1959 and completed his term in 1964.

occasionally discuss his ideas with him. If anything appears to you to be feasible, have that matter considered more fully. Where possible, try it on a small experimental scale. This may yield results and, in any event, it is due to him that we should treat him in a comradely way and try to profit by his suggestions.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(c) Goa

61. About Purushottam Kakodkar: Invitation for Talks¹⁷⁹

I have asked Purushottam Kakodkar¹⁸⁰ to come to Delhi on July 20th for 2 or 3 days when we can have talks with him.

I enclose some recent letters from him.¹⁸¹ He refers to a previous letter of his dated 13th June. I do not remember this. Perhaps I passed this on to you.

(d) Bhutan

62. To Subimal Dutt: Defence of Bhutan and Nepal¹⁸²

I think we should be clear in our minds as to what we consider to be our responsibilities in regard to the defence of Bhutan, should the necessity arise. Indeed, we might include Nepal in this category also. Reference is sometimes made to what I said in Parliament once to the effect that our defence frontiers are the Himalayas, that is, in some place on the other side of Nepal.¹⁸³

2. I did not mean then, and I do not mean now, that we should develop a coordinated plan for our defence on the other side of Nepal and Bhutan borders. That is physically a difficult feat and would involve very heavy expenditure.

179. Note in MEA, 15 July 1959. File No. 4-26/GOA/58(NGO), MEA, in the records of the MHA.

180. Nationalist leader from Goa; arrested in 1946 and imprisoned in Lisbon; released in 1952 but sent to India in 1956.

181. See Purushottam Kakodkar to Nehru, 1 July 1959, Appendix 10.

182. Note, 24 July 1959.

183. Nehru made a statement to this effect on 6 December 1950; see SWJN/SS/15/pt 2/pp. 422-435, here p. 433.

Politically, it would also not be feasible. All that I meant when I said that was to give notice to the world that any aggression on Bhutan or Nepal would be considered an aggression on India and might thus involve India in hostilities. No country, therefore, is likely to consider any such aggression on Bhutan or Nepal.

3. That, I think, is quite enough so far as India is concerned and on no account should we get involved in actual plans of defence of Bhutan or Nepal. Any such involvement would be highly embarrassing for us in many ways and would not really help much even from the point of view of defence. Therefore, this question of a coordinated plan of defence does not arise and the idea should be given up. Further, no Military Mission, however small, should be sent by us to Bhutan.

4. We may rule out any real military aggression against Bhutan, something in the nature of an invasion. For the present that is not conceivable. What is necessary now is to make adequate provision to prevent infiltration. This means that fairly good and strong check posts should be established. No one should be allowed to come in casually. Any such act must be a deliberate defiance and invasion.

5. We should be prepared to help the Bhutan Government with arms and ammunition, which presumably will be of the small arms type. To what extent we can do so will have to be considered. We should, therefore, wait for Shri Apa Pant's¹⁸⁴ talk with Shri Jigme Dorji.¹⁸⁵ Normally speaking, there should be no difficulty in the supply of small arms which we are producing.

6. But I think that our basic position, as stated above, should be made clear to Shri Apa Pant, even before he sees Jigme Dorji.

184. Political Officer of India in Sikkim and Bhutan from 1955 to 1961.

185. The Prime Minister of Bhutan.



[Morarji Desai and G.B. Pant]

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 5 JULY 1959)

(e) Administration

(i) Corruption and Accountability

63. To S.R. Das: Enquiry into the Conduct of Public Servants¹⁸⁶

July 4, 1989

My dear Chief Justice,

Thank you for your letter of the 30th June¹⁸⁷ which I received today. As I sent you previously a copy of my letter to Shri Vivian Bose,¹⁸⁸ I am now sending copies of further correspondence with him for your information.

I realise the public importance of the issues that you have mentioned in your letter. In view of this importance and the consequences of any decision that may be made in regard to these issues, perhaps it might be desirable, if you are pleased to agree, for you to discuss this matter with the Home Minister or with me before the full Court meeting to which you refer. Should you so wish it, we shall be at your disposal.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

64. To M.C. Chagla: Proposal for an Ombudsman¹⁸⁹

July 31, 1959

My dear Chagla,¹⁹⁰

Your letter of the 23rd July in which you draw attention to a Scandinavian institution called 'Ombudsman'. I shall have this matter looked into. But, prima facie, I doubt very much if this would succeed in India. It is all very well for a highly developed and small country like Sweden or Denmark or Finland to have some such over-all surveyor. In India, with our multitude of difficulties

186. Letter.

187. See S.R. Das to Nehru, 30 June 1959, Appendix 9.

188. For Nehru's letter of 26 June 1959 to Vivian Bose, an Ad hoc Judge of the Supreme Court of India, see SWJN/SS/49/item 151.

189. Letter.

190. The Ambassador of India to the USA.

and problems, all that will happen is that a new, huge and ever-growing Department of complaints will be set up adding to our bureaucracy.

As it is, we have some such individual or Department in several States though it has not got the powers which are enjoyed by 'Ombudsman' in Sweden. I myself receive quite a large number of complaints which, if they have any prima facie basis, I get investigated.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ii) Protocol and Security

65. To Rajendra Prasad: Presidential Travel¹⁹¹

July 1, 1959

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I am happy that your visit to Ceylon¹⁹² was such a success. There is one matter, however, which I would venture to bring to your notice.

Reports have reached us from Ceylon, among them some comments by Ceylon Ministers and senior officials, to the effect that the large party that accompanied you to Ceylon put them to great strain. There were, I believe, 50 persons in the party, including the air crew, and the Ceylon Government found it very difficult to find accommodation for so many, especially in Anuradhapura and Kandy. There was also difficulty of finding transport and running of special trains. The Ceylon Railway Manager stated that he had to organise the longest special train in his experience to accommodate our President's party and this was rather a strain.¹⁹³

191. Letter. File No. 107/59, President's Secretariat. Also available in JN Collection.

192. From 16 to 22 June 1959.

193. Rajendra Prasad replied to Nehru on 3 July that the MEA had been consulted about his entourage to Ceylon, which consisted of only sixteen persons, excluding the representatives of the MEA, the Information and Broadcasting Ministry, the Press and the air crew. The same number also accompanied him to Indo-China and Indonesia and was, he believed, "settled after consultation." He added that the programme in Ceylon, with the special train, was drawn up entirely by the Ceylon Government, which, on its own initiative, invited the Press representatives and the air crew; and the air crew neither accompanied the party to Kandy and Anuradhapura nor travelled in the special train. Valmiki Choudhary (ed.), *Dr. Rajendra Prasad: Correspondence and Select Documents*, Vol. XIX, p. 130, and File No. 107/59, President's Secretariat.

I suppose that even on our side it involves a good deal of organisation and strain for such large parties to travel, and especially abroad. In present day circumstances, I believe that the parties accompanying even Heads of States are relatively small. We have perhaps got into the habit of following the Viceregal conventions in this matter. These are hardly applicable in India today and much less outside India.

I know that it is not your desire to have such a large entourage, but your staff perhaps thinking in terms of what the Viceroys did, followed the old custom. I would respectfully suggest that this matter may be considered afresh, both from the point of view of journeys abroad and journeys in India. Apart from the expenditure involved, the strain is to all concerned and needless criticisms are made.

The other day I was in Naini Tal.¹⁹⁴ The Governor¹⁹⁵ expressed his great pleasure at your visit there. But, rather hesitantly, he said that the strain on his establishment was very great and it was difficult to make arrangements for a party of about 60 persons who had accompanied you to Naini Tal. The Raj Bhavan there was big, but too small for your party and many other arrangements had to be made, both for accommodation and transport.

I hope you will forgive me for writing this letter, but as I have had many reports of criticisms, I thought that I should bring this matter to your notice.¹⁹⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

194. On 16 and 17 June 1959.

195. V.V. Giri.

196. Rajendra Prasad wrote that the big party that went with him to Naini Tal, during his visit there from 26 May to 4 June, "was mainly due to the Governor's own invitation to my family and to my Officers' families and to his staff having requested us to help them with cars from Delhi." He, however, agreed "that the entourage which accompanied me on my tours should not be unduly or unnecessarily large and I shall again specially look into this matter." Valmiki Choudhary (ed.), *Dr. Rajendra Prasad*, Vol. XIX, p. 130, and File No. 107/59, President's Secretariat.

You Said It

By LAXMAN



All right boys, start building all over again—the gentleman from the documentary unit says he has under-exposed the films.

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 2 JULY 1959)

You Said It

By LAXMAN



Isn't it a pity we have absolutely no funds to build this beautiful building?

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 29 JULY 1959)

66. To C.R. Srinivasan: Nehru's Domestic Tours¹⁹⁷

I have no comments to make on this programme.¹⁹⁸ But you might inform the Andhra Pradesh Government that unfortunately I have not been keeping well, and here at Mashobra, I have had some fever. I hope I shall be well enough to go to Andhra. But, in any event, every effort should be made to lighten the programme, so that I can rest as much as possible. I should like to retire early at night.

2. I would, of course, welcome Ministers travelling by aircraft with me to the extent there is room there. But I would like to bring to the notice of the Chief Minister there the circular letter which I am having issued through the Cabinet Secretary. In this I have pointed out that those who receive me and those who accompany me on my tours should be reduced drastically.

67. To Ministers: Don't Waste Money¹⁹⁹

A colleague of mine has drawn my attention to a recommendation of our Economy Board.²⁰⁰ This Board has pointed out that there is much room for effecting economies in governmental expenditure incurred on the holding of inaugural functions of various kinds. I entirely agree with this suggestion.

2. Some of these functions of our major projects have certainly a publicity value, and it is right that we should draw the attention of the public to them. But, what usually happens is that a large number of people are invited from outside to these functions. Arrangements for their stay have to be made, travelling allowances have to be paid, and a great deal of other expenditure incurred. I think that there is much room for economy on these occasions, and there is no need to invite large numbers of people to them. Apart from economy, the effect on the public will also be good. I would, therefore, commend this to your attention.

197. Note to PS to PM, 16 July 1959. File No. 8/107/59-PMP, Vol. I.

198. This tour programme for Andhra Pradesh and Mysore (July) was cancelled owing to his illness.

199. Note to Ministers, including Ministers of State, 16 July 1959. File No. 20/11 (S)/59-Police I, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

200. The Central Economy Board.

3. There are so many other ways also for economising. There are some old customary procedures which are no longer necessary or desirable, but through sheer habit, we carry on with them. I would request you to examine these, more especially when you are on tour. There should be as little fuss as possible in the course of the tours of Ministers, and it should be made clear that State Ministers and officials need not leave their normal work merely to welcome Ministers from the Centre. Only such as are connected with the work in hand need come.

4. I have always felt that our security arrangements are needlessly complicated. I am, of course, the most guilty person in this respect, and I have been struggling against this for years without too much effect. I propose to continue to protest and struggle. Other Ministers, I hope, will also reduce these to the absolute minimum.

5. There is the aspect of expenditure and there is also the aspect of showiness. The former should be limited and the latter given up altogether as far as possible. There is now a progressive resentment in the public about anything that might be considered showy in regard to Ministers. This is a healthy reaction which we should respect.

68. To Chief Ministers: Don't Waste Money²⁰¹

I am enclosing a note²⁰² which I am sending to my colleagues in the Central Government. I am sharing this with you as many of these points to which I have referred apply as much to State Governments as to the Central Government. I feel that we should try to introduce more simplicity in our functions and in our travelling.

2. I should like to draw your special attention to one particular matter. If I go on tour to a State, it is neither necessary nor desirable for a large number of Ministers and officials to give up their work and assemble to welcome me. Sometimes they even accompany me on my tour. I suggest that only one Minister and one or two local officials might meet me on my arrival. I do not wish to disturb the work of others. This would apply to other Central Ministers also.

3. When travelling by road, I have found that a large number of cars

201. Note to the Chief Ministers of all states and the Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir, 16 July 1959.

202. See item 67.

accompany me. This seems to me not only wasteful but even otherwise undesirable. There is no need for crowds of people, including Ministers and officials, to accompany me. It is bad enough for the security people to take up a lot of room, and I want to limit their numbers too.

69. Ceremonial and Security²⁰³

I have looked through these papers, including the note dated 6th July that the President was pleased to write.

2. I do not think that any marked changes need be made in the ceremonial at State functions when the President is present. Minor changes might be made if considered desirable by the President. Thus, I do not attach much importance to the proposals or suggestions made in the attached note.

3. I should like to say, however, that I have no recollection of expressing the view that the President should not drive in State on the occasion of the opening of Parliament.²⁰⁴ On the whole, I think that the State Drive to Parliament House is desirable from the public point of view.

4. There are a number of aspects which have to be kept in mind:-

- (1) Ceremonial on State occasions.
- (2) Ceremonial on other than State occasions.
- (3) Security.
- (4) Economy.
- (5) Inconvenience caused to the public.

5. On major State occasions, a certain dignity and ceremonial have to be followed and it is right that it should be so. But this should apply to those major occasions only, and the ceremonial on other occasions can certainly be greatly simplified. The tendency almost all over the world is for Heads of States, whether Kings or Presidents, to move about (apart from major State occasions) as simply and as unostentatiously as possible. One of the reasons for this is to avoid inconvenience to the public. Thus there is no parade of cars or very special police arrangements which are too obvious. This is much appreciated by the public, and whenever traffic suffers at all, there is an outcry from the public.

203. Note, 18 July 1959.

204. However, on 13 November 1957, Nehru had objected to the President's procession during the State opening of Parliament; see SWJN/SS/40/p. 449.

205. "Speaking Generally," *The Statesman* of 7 July 1959.

6. Two or three days ago, somebody sent me a cutting from the newspaper *Statesman* dealing with Presidential journeys.²⁰⁵ The fact that such a note should have been written seemed to me significant, apart from its correctness. I think it does represent a current criticism.

7. What happens at major State ceremonials is not so important as people accept a measure of pomp and pageantry and are prepared to suffer some inconvenience for it. But what happens at other normal functions affects the public much more, as it inconveniences them. This appears to be specially the case because of security arrangements. I think that the ideas of security of the Home Ministry or those who advise them in this matter are completely out of date, very expensive and wasteful, and hardly achieve the objective aimed at. I do not know how to impress this upon the Home Ministry as I suffer from these ideas myself. Because of my repeated protests, some change has been made in the sense that the so-called protective measures are not so obvious. Nevertheless, they surround me and give me a sensation of being tied hand and foot. I do not think that such measures are usual in other countries. This I think is a direct relic of Viceregal times.²⁰⁶

8. The rules about Railway journeys also seem to me to be mostly unnecessary. Apart from very special occasions such as those of State ceremonials, the basic rule should always be that the public must not be inconvenienced, whether on road or Railway Stations. As it is, there is tremendous inconvenience to the public, and most of this is totally unnecessary.

9. I do not think it is necessary for the President to have a cavalcade or motorcade of cars whenever he goes out on some private or semi-private function. So far as I know, this is not done elsewhere. At any rate, no one notices it, while here it is very noticeable.

10. The lining of railway track is highly objectionable. So also the lining of roads. And yet, both these things are done. If some slight risk has to be taken, it should be taken. I do not myself think there is any risk of that type. But there are some things which ought not to be done, whatever the possible consequences.

11. Thus, broadly speaking, there need be no major change about the ceremonial at principal State functions. On other occasions, there should be as little pomp and ceremonial as possible, and the President should move about in comfort without being harried by too many people accompanying him, whether

206. *The Statesman* columnist wrote that in many matters "the old Viceregal circulars have been taken over and followed with the faithful, lifeless inflexibility that always characterizes imitation."

on a road journey or a train journey. This, added to a new and simpler conception of security, would remove many of the criticisms and much of the inconvenience caused to the public. (I might add that traffic should never be stopped because the President or a foreign dignitary is to pass that way, except on major State occasions.) All this will lead to economy also.

12. One of the unfortunate consequences of past practice is the fact that Governors also have to put up with too much of necessary pomp and ceremony. It is the A.D.C. tradition that governs life. The other day I was reading a book about Simla, past and present. In this a case was mentioned of a senior and able Civil Servant (English, of course) being offered a Governorship or a Lt. Governorship. He refused with thanks saying that he could not endure life with A.D.Cs before and after him. He would either run away from the job or shoot the A.D.Cs. Therefore, he thought it safer not to accept such a job.²⁰⁷

(iii) Passports and Visas

70. To Subimal Dutt: Extension of American Journalist's Visa²⁰⁸

I met this lady at Ootacamund and she spoke to me about her future hopes and plans on the lines indicated in the note attached to this paper.²⁰⁹ All this seemed to me rather vague and evidently she was depending on the Maharaja of Mysore²¹⁰ as well as perhaps other Maharajas and the like to finance her venture of a non-profit publicity organisation.

207. Nehru was referring to Edward J. Buck, *Simla Past and Present*, second edition (Bombay: The Times Press, 1925), pp. 67-68.

208. Note, 1 July 1959. File No. 8/254-XPR/59, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

209. This concerned one Julie Medlock, an American journalist. She had arrived in India as a tourist in February 1958, had extended her visa twice, and had travelled all over India, Pakistan, Nepal and Sikkim. Krishna Menon had commended her as "a person of high standing," while she commended India's non-alignment. In letters to Menon and the MEA, she had offered to carry out publicity work for the Colombo Plan countries and to act as PRO to the Dalai Lama. She wanted to raise funds in India and the USA to set up a private non-profit office in India for cooperation between the two countries. She proposed to publicize in the USA "the real, modern India and the sheer commonsense of Nehru's policies in the international area." File No. 8/254-XPR/59, MEA.

210. Jaya Chamaraja Wodeyar.

2. It appeared that she had done some kind of publicity for the Maharaja in connection with his visit to the United States. Probably it was because of this that the Maharaja made her his guest. It may be that he wants to get some more help from her in some way or other in future.

3. Anyhow, she was at Ootacamund as the Maharaja's guest and presumably she is there still as such.²¹¹ Whether she does anything for us in future or not may be doubtful, but I see no reason why we should push her out of India. Certainly I do not expect her to do any harm to us and she might do some good.

4. I do not see any paper here containing a request from her about the future, that is, about the extension of her visa for any fixed period. I think we should extend this visa, perhaps for six months or so now. If her plans do not take root here and if the Maharaja does not go on helping her, she would probably want to return.

71. To Kesho Ram: Visa Extension for a Pakistani Woman²¹²

This lady²¹³ came to see me this morning. The question of changing her nationality may be a complicated one but it is not clear to me why she should be pushed out of India for technical reasons. Apparently she came originally here about two and a half years ago on a three-month visa. This must have been extended from time to time. The Home Ministry may be strictly correct in saying that they cannot go on extending a visa like this.

2. But she has obviously got other people here and she has been divorced by her husband. Normal human considerations would suggest that she should be allowed to stay with her mother and others. In other countries there is no difficulty about people doing this kind of thing unless there is some special reason. I think we should approach normality in regard to such matters and allow her to stay here. Wherever this human consideration exists it should not be ignored except as I said for special reasons. I do not know what the special reasons are in this case.

3. Will you please enquire from the Home Ministry? For the present it would be desirable to extend her visa period till this matter is fully considered.

211. Julie Medlock met Nehru in Ootacamund in early June.

212. Note, 2 July 1959.

213. Mrs Salima Burke.

72. To MEA: The Need to Liberalise Rules²¹⁴

I enclose a leading article from the Indian Express. This deals with passports and visas.²¹⁵

2. As you know, I have not been happy about restrictions and delays in regard to passports and visas and have drawn attention to these matters on several occasions. Indeed, both the External Affairs Ministry and the Home Ministry have considered this matter many times and some improvements have been made. Even so, I think that the position at present is not satisfactory, and we should reconsider our rules.

3. As you know, in most countries, the rules governing passports are easy and flexible. So far as visas are concerned, they have even been wholly abolished as between most countries in Western Europe. Perhaps we cannot go that far, but we should make some advance in that direction.

4. I am not mentioning here the various aspects which should be considered. But the main point should be that there is no delay in giving a visa or an endorsement. Our foreign Missions should be given fuller authority and told to dispose of these cases rapidly. Even now, I see from time to time telegrams coming from our Missions abroad asking us for permission. Rarely this may be necessary, but normally they should judge for themselves and judge liberally.

5. Sometimes Russian engineers come here for some of their plants in India. Even there telegrams are sent for permission to issue visas. Surely this is not necessary when they are coming for specific work and often at our own invitation.

6. My own experience of getting visas in European countries has been a very good one. I have hardly ever been asked to wait for more than a few minutes. It is true that this experience is rather old.

214. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, and Subimal Dutt, 9 July 1959. File No. 7 (4)/P.V. II/59, MEA. Also available in File No. 6/127/59-F. I, MHA, and JN Collection.

215. "Revise the Rules" in the *Indian Express* of 9 July 1959. It made trenchant criticisms of policies and procedures, pointed to the deterioration over the years, and gave instances of harassment.

73. To Subimal Dutt: Let Missions Decide²¹⁶

I have read your note.²¹⁷ I am not very happy at the distinction made between some countries and others. I can understand this distinction in regard to China, and Portugal of course; possibly also Spain. But, in regard to the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia, there does not appear to me to be any adequate reason, I do not suppose there are many tourists from these countries. But, if there are any tourists or short-term visitors, they might well be dealt with by our Ambassadors there. After all, they are the best judges. It is hardly possible for our Ministries here to know about such persons. They can only rely on the information given to them by our Missions abroad. Why not, then, leave it to those Missions? That does not mean that those Missions should automatically give visas. They should exercise their judgement and, where they find no reason against giving a visa, they can give it, otherwise they should refer it to us here. My main point is that our Ministries here are not in a position to judge. This would apply to short-term visas. We are developing trade and technical contacts with these countries and, as a matter of fact, not many people are likely to come from there.²¹⁸

216. Note, 29 July 1959. File No. 7 (4)/P.V. II/59, MEA. Also available in File No. 6/127/59-F. I, MHA, and JN Collection.

217. With reference to Nehru's note of 9 July (see item 72), Subimal Dutt stated in his note of 29 July that Indian missions normally granted visas for up to six months without reference to GOI; however, for East Europe, China, Spain and Portugal, they were referred to GOI because they did the same to Indians. However, he admitted that delays were "due partly to general inefficiency and dilatoriness in our offices," and less to staff shortage.

218. As for the Soviet engineers, Dutt clarified that the Indian Embassy had full authority to grant visas to them, but these telegrams concerned those who had applied for visas before GOI had created posts for them.

(iv) Other Matters

74. To Subimal Dutt: Proposed Foreign Tour of UP Legislators²¹⁹

I agree with you. I do not see how this proposal²²⁰ can be justified. There is first the question of members of the Legislature going to various countries without an invitation. This kind of pushing tactics will not bring us any credit and may create embarrassments all round. Apart from this, in view of our foreign exchange position and the strict rules we are following, we cannot possibly agree to the foreign exchange involved in these lengthy tours.

2. As the Finance Minister came to see me, I mentioned this to him and he was firmly of the opinion that no foreign exchange will be available for this.

75. To Vishnu Sahay: The O&M Division²²¹

I have read the remarks of the Estimates Committee regarding the O&M Division.²²² I have also read the note prepared by the Cabinet Secretariat.

2. It is difficult for me to express any opinions myself on a matter which necessarily requires expert investigation. I agree that the Cabinet Secretariat's note should be sent to the Finance Ministry. I agree also that the Central Economy Board²²³ should review the work done by the O&M Division. Such a review is, in fact, the principal recommendation of the Estimates Committee. After the review has taken place, we shall be in a better position to judge as to what we should do.

3. My present inclination is that it would not be desirable to join together the O&M Division and the Special Reorganisation Unit which functions under the Finance Ministry.²²⁴ The work of the two, to some extent, may overlap,

219. Note, 7 July 1959.

220. UP MLAs were planning to visit some sixteen countries.

221. Note, 17 July 1959.

222. The Organisation and Methods Division.

223. The Central Economy Board consisted of the Secretaries of the Finance Ministry and of the Ministries under review, with the Cabinet Secretary as chairman.

224. The Economy Board had asked the Ministries to suggest better working methods through specific studies. Reply by Tarkeshwari Sinha, Deputy Minister of Finance, in the Rajya Sabha on 17 August 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1-13, cols 733-737.

and therefore it is desirable that they should keep in touch with each other. But, broadly speaking, the basic aim is different. I think that the O&M has a definite function to perform which may well be lost if it is tied up with the S.R.U. Therefore, I think they should be kept separate.

4. Also I think that O&M should remain with the Cabinet Secretariat. Any kind of overall direction which is to be given to the various Ministries should come from the Cabinet Secretariat. Otherwise there is sometimes some trouble and resentment. The Finance Ministry has a tremendous task and in the discharge of that task, has often to give decisions which rather irritate other Ministries. I do not wish to add to its responsibilities in this way.

5. Apart from this, the broad outlook of the Finance Ministry is necessarily that of economy. It does not normally cover the work which is supposed to be done by the O&M Division.

6. I agree, therefore, that the Cabinet Secretariat's note should be sent to the Finance Ministry, presumably for submission to the Estimates Committee. Further, that the review of the work of the O&M Division should be entrusted to the Central Economy Board.

76. To Kesho Ram: Memorial to Revolutionaries²²⁵

You may remember that an appeal was made to me about a year ago on behalf of some old 'revolutionaries' who wanted the old Delhi District Jail, or a part of it, to be preserved as a memorial to political prisoners who suffered long terms of imprisonment there or who were actually executed. I replied to them that this did not seem to me a feasible or a desirable proposition. But it should certainly be possible to put up some kind of a memorial column or something like it on the spot.²²⁶

2. I understand that the Azad Memorial Medical College has been built in that area. I think that something should be done about these people and more particularly three persons who were executed there as long ago as 1915. These

225. Note, 26 July 1959.

226. See SWJN/SS/45/p. 860 and SWJN/SS/46/p. 324, Nehru to Jogesh Chandra Chatterji, 19 December 1958 and 1 February 1959 respectively.

three persons were Master Amin Chand,²²⁷ Master Avadh Bihari and Bhai Bal Mukand.²²⁸

3. You might enquire from the Home Ministry if they have any ideas on this subject.²²⁹ Also from the Health Ministry who presumably are responsible for putting up the new hospital there.

(f) Social Groups

77. To R.K. Khadilkar: Bombay-Mysore Border Dispute²³⁰

July 2, 1959

My dear Khadilkar,

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of June 15.²³¹ As you perhaps know, I have been frequently out of Delhi during recent weeks.

I need not tell you how concerned I have been about this border dispute between Mysore and Bombay State. All that we in the Government of India want is that this dispute should be settled peacefully and cooperatively. My colleague the Home Minister has made several efforts to this end. We shall certainly continue our efforts. You know the difficulties and the passions that are roused. Sometimes, an attempt to solve a problem produces another problem.

227. Spelt Amir elsewhere; see fn 228 in this section.

228. Master Amir Chand (b.1869) and Avadh Bihari (b. 1889), from Delhi, and Bhai Bal Mukand (b. 1889), from District Jhelum, Punjab (now in Pakistan), were convicted in the Delhi Conspiracy Case for the assassination attempt on Hardinge in 1912. According to a GOI publication, while Master Amir Chand was hanged on 8 May 1915 in the Delhi Central Jail, Avadh Bihari and Bhai Bal Mukand were hanged in the Ambala Central Jail on 11 May 1915. See P.N. Chopra (ed.), *Who's Who of Indian Martyrs*, Vol. 1 (New Delhi: Ministry of Education and Youth Services, Government of India, 1969).

229. Bhola Nath Jha, the Home Secretary, informed Kesho Ram on 8 August 1959 that a commemorative plaque on the main gate of the Delhi District Jail was unveiled on 8 October 1956 by G.B. Pant. As the district jail was subsequently shifted to Tihar and the Azad Memorial Medical College was to be built here, it was decided on 25 May 1959: i) to place an inscription on or near the peepal tree adjacent to the execution site; ii) have a panel with sculpture in front of the future college assembly hall; and iii) that the octagonal bastion and the corner of the compound wall of the old jail be retained and the plaque of 1956 be placed in the bastion.

230. Letter.

231. See R.K. Khadilkar to Nehru, 15 June 1959, Appendix 3.

You Said It

By LAXMAN



The roads are not connected here because this is the border area under dispute between the two States.

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 9 JULY 1959)

Our effort should be not to do so, but really to solve the problem. I can assure you that we are very anxious to do so.

In your letter you have mentioned some particular cases where, according to you, there is marked discrimination from the linguistic point of view. I am immediately enquiring into these cases.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

78. To B.D. Jatti: Bombay-Mysore Border Dispute²³²

July 2, 1959

My dear Jatti,²³³

I enclose a copy of a letter from R.K. Khadilkar, MP²³⁴ and a copy of my reply to him.²³⁵

As I have often told you, this border dispute between Mysore and Bombay States has been a matter of great concern to us. The fact that the two bordering states, both under Congress Governments, cannot settle this in a friendly way does us no credit. I think, therefore, that we must apply ourselves to this matter much more earnestly and try to solve it.

I would particularly draw your attention to some instances of alleged discrimination which Khadilkar has pointed out. He makes a comparison between the attitude of the Andhra Government, which he commends, and the Mysore Government, which he criticises. Surely all these relatively minor causes of controversy and resentment can be easily removed.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

232. Letter.

233. The Chief Minister of Mysore.

234. See R.K. Khadilkar to Nehru, 15 June 1959, Appendix 3.

235. See item 77.

79. To Partap Singh Kairon: The Mother Tongue in the Census²³⁶

July 5, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

You wrote to me some time ago (I think it was on June 2) about the forthcoming Census and the desirability of not recording information about the mother tongue. Giani Kartar Singh had written previously on this subject to the Home Minister and a reply had been sent to him.

This matter was considered afresh by the Home Ministry and the Registrar-General of Census.²³⁷ The Registrar-General has pointed out some obvious difficulties in leaving out this information from the Census.

First of all, this is one of the special items of information which is always considered necessary in a Census anywhere. I think this is the practice all over the world. Questions are asked not only about the mother tongue, but other languages known also. For us to drop it from the All India Census would be an innovation and a departure from the normal international practice. This would deprive us of some very important information which is considered necessary.²³⁸ Further, any such omission would be immediately noticed and a controversy will arise all over India in regard to it.

To keep it from the rest of India and to leave it out for the Punjab would be even worse, and all kinds of insinuations will be made. I do not think that is possible.

I think, therefore, that we have to face the situation as it is and try to explain it fully to the people.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

236. Letter. File No. 2 (316)/59-66-PMS, Vol. I. Also available in File No. 2/24/59-Public I, MHA, and JN Collection.

237. Asok Mitra, Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 1958-68.

238. The Census of India 1961 identified 1,652 languages spoken in the country.

80. Welfare and Integration of Tribals²³⁹

राष्ट्रपतिजी, बहनो और भाइयो,

आपने ठक्कर बापा²⁴⁰ की प्रशंसा सुनी, और ठीक है कि हो, लेकिन किसी क्रूर ये ज़ाबिते की तारीफ़ें कुछ कम-सी पड़ जाती हैं, क्योंकि कितनी बार, कितने लोगों के लिए हम करीब-करीब वही [उसी] शब्द का प्रयोग करते हैं, तारीफ़ें करते हैं। क्योंकि ज़रा मुश्किल है बहुत ऊँच-नीच करनी, उन शब्दों का इस्तेमाल हो, असल में लफ़्ज़ी तारीफ़ें तो बहुत दूर नहीं जातीं, आदमी अपने काम से चमकते हैं और चाहे आप यहाँ यह सदन न भी बनायें, स्मारक के लिए, ठक्कर बापा उन बहुत कम लोगों में थे जो कि अपने काम से चमकते थे और जिनको किसी की तारीफ़ की ज़रूरत नहीं थी, और जो इस दुनिया में, धूम-धाम की दुनिया में लाखों-करोड़ों आदमियों के दिल में बसे थे, अपनी सेवा से, अपनी ख़िदमत से।

मुनासिब है कि आप यह एक यादगार उनकी खड़ी करें यहाँ, हालाँकि ठक्कर बापा की यादगार में एक दफ़्तर बना देना बहुत लम्बी-चौड़ी बात मुझे नज़र नहीं आती है, छोटी बात है।²⁴¹ असल यादगार तो उनकी यही हो कि जिन लोगों में उन्होंने काम किया, उन लोगों की मदद और उस काम को जारी रखना। उन्होंने काम किया हरेक शाख़ या हरेक जाति का जो कि कुछ दुनिया में वाक़यात से कुछ गिरी हुई गिनी जाती हैं, हरिजन में काम किया, आदिमजाति संघ में,²⁴² ट्राइबल लोगों में। लेकिन शायद काम उनका सब ज़रूरी था, शायद सबमें ज़्यादा अहमियत उनका काम बस ट्राइबल काम में, आदिमजाति संघ के ज़रिये से हुआ। बहुत आवश्यक है हरिजनों का काम माना मैंने। लेकिन किसी क्रूर वो जान गये, अपनी देख-भाल भी कर सकते हैं, और काम करने वाले भी काफ़ी हैं, उनमें फिर भी मदद करनी चाहिए। लेकिन जो ये आदिमजाति के लोग हैं, ये ट्राइबल लोग हैं, उनकी तरफ़ शायद अब तक हिन्दुस्तान की तवज्जो उतनी नहीं गयी जितनी जानी चाहिए। गयी है, कोई शक़ नहीं, गयी है, काम होता है, हमारा एक सीरा [शोबा] है गवर्नमेण्ट का इसी काम के लिए, अक्सर सूबों में है। कुछ हमारे असेम्बलीज़ वगैरह के सदस्य भी हैं, यह सब ठीक है। लेकिन फिर भी मैं समझता हूँ कि ज़रूरत है।

239. Speech at the foundation stone laying ceremony of the Thakkar Bapa Memorial, New Delhi. 7 July 1959. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

240. Amritlal Vithaldas Thakkar, popularly known as Thakkar Bapa: social worker from Gujarat; worked for the upliftment of Harijans and Adivasis.

241. The Thakkar Bapa Smarak Sadan is located on Dr Ambedkar Road, Jhandewalan, New Delhi.

242. The Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh (Tribal Welfare Society) was founded by Thakkar Baba on 24 October 1948. Its first President was Rajendra Prasad, who continued in this capacity till his death.

लेकिन उसी के साथ एक और सवाल हमेशा याद रखना है कि किस क्रिस्म का काम वहाँ हो। यह महज़ कह देना कि लोग जा कर उनकी सेवा करें, ठीक है, लेकिन काफ़ी नहीं है। सेवा के माने क्या? किस ढंग की सेवा, क्या-क्या? मैं किसी की सेवा करूँ तो मेरे लिए मुफ़ीद है, मालूम नहीं दूसरे के लिए है कि नहीं जिसकी मैं सेवा करता हूँ; मुझे शक हो जाता है। क्योंकि ख़ाली सेवा करना काफ़ी नहीं है, बल्कि समझना कि किस रास्ते पर चलना है, किस रास्ते पर चलना है और बहुत ज़्यादा सेवा के नाम से इन ट्राइबल लोगों के ऊपर [...] एक अपना रंग लगाना वो भी ख़तरनाक बात है। मैं तो कहता हूँ यह भी कुछ ग़लत है कि अपने को उनसे ऊँचा समझना और बड़ी इनायत करके उनको उठाने की कोशिश करना अपनी जगह तक। इसको भी मैं कुछ ख़तरनाक समझता हूँ। ज़ाहिर है बाज़ बातों में हम ज़्यादा आगे बढ़े हैं, पढ़ने-लिखने वगैरह ऐसी बातों में, और पढ़ना-लिखना अच्छा है हरेक के लिए। उसी से दरवाज़े खुलते हैं आजकल की दुनिया के और मुझे इस बात की फ़िक्र नहीं कि किसको कितनी नौकरी मिलती है, किसको नहीं मिलती। क्योंकि इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ आपसे कि आमतौर से अन्दाज़े होते हैं किसी क्रौम की तरक्क़ी के कि सरकारी नौकरी कितनी मिली। सरकारी नौकरी एक माने में हरेक को हक़ है, लेकिन उसकी तरफ़ हर वक़्त निगाह रखना, यह मैं किसी क्रौम के लिए अच्छा नहीं समझता। जो चीज़ बढ़ाती है, वो तालीम है और तालीम से मतलब ख़ाली [...] पढ़ना-लिखना-सीखना [नहीं], बल्कि काम करने की तालीम, और चाहे हरिजन हो, चाहे हमारे ट्राइबल भाई हों, उनकी तालीम बढ़ती जाय और उनमें माह्दा पैदा होता जाय मुल्क के तरह-तरह के काम करने का, तो उनको कोई रोक नहीं सकता है। लेकिन आप एक इधर आश्रम बना दें, एक दस आदमियों को बैठा दें और दस उधर बैठा दें, उनकी सेवा करें तो वे वहीं रहेंगे। आप जो कुछ हो जायें, आप हों। असल सवाल तो ज़्यादा गहरे हैं। महज़ दिखावटी बातें नहीं हैं कि एक बहुत सारे लोगों को उठाना, आखिर में तालीम के ज़रिये से, काम सीखने के, सीखे हुए, जो आजकल के जो दुनिया के काम हैं, जो भी हों, पढ़ना-लिखना, इंजीनियरिंग करना, यह करना, वो करना, इस क्रिस्म के काम जिससे अपनी सेवा कर सकें, मुल्क की करें, इस ढंग से।

एक और पहलू उठता है, खासकर यह आदिमजाति लोगों में, ट्राइबल लोगों में। ये बहुत तरह के हैं, इनमें बहुत फ़रक़ हैं, कोई एक ग़ज़ से आप उनको नहीं नाप सकते। बाज़ बातों में वो लोग मेरी ज़ाती राय में यक़ीनन हमसे बेहतर हैं। जब मैं हम कहता हूँ तो जो आम स्टैण्डर्ड जो हमारे लोगों का, जो ट्राइबल नहीं हैं। मेरी पक्की राय है कि बाज़ बातों में, सब बातों में नहीं, ट्राइबल नहीं, ट्राइबल लोग, नॉन-ट्राइबल लोगों से बेहतर हैं। मैं उन लोगों को नीचे कैसे समझूँ? इसके माने क्या? इसलिए कि हम कपड़े ज़्यादा पहनते हैं, वो कपड़ा कम पहनते हैं, यह कोई अन्दाज़ा खास नहीं है, या कोई कुछ हो। हाँ? बाज़ बातों में पिछड़े हुए हैं। लेकिन हमें कोई हक़ नहीं है...और मुझे अक्सर शक हो जाता है मैं उनमें काम करूँ, जा के, कि मैं उनको फ़ायदा पहुँचा रहा हूँ कि नुक़सान, अपने ख़यालात उनमें डाल के। शक़ पैदा होने लगता है। हो सकता है कि बाज़ ग़ज़ से नापिये तो मेरे ख़यालात ज़्यादा अच्छे हैं, मेरा रहन-सहन उनसे ज़्यादा अच्छा है एक ग़ज़ से। एक दूसरे ग़ज़ से नापिये तो फिर पता नहीं किसका ज़्यादा अच्छा है। तो यह

कि हम अपने गज़ से नाप के हरेक को अपना-सा बनाने की कोशिश करें, यह बात सही नहीं मुझे मालूम होती। यक्रीनन उनको मौक़ा देना है बढ़ने का आगे। लेकिन वो अपने ढंग से बढ़ें, मौक़ा आप दें, पढ़ें-लिखें और अपने ढंग से बढ़ें, और अपने ढंग से बढ़ने में ताक़त होती है, ताक़त आती है, मज़बूती से बढ़ते हैं, नहीं तो एक बड़ा ख़तरा यह होता है कि एक जाति जिसको आप अंग्रेज़ी भाषा में कहिए, प्रिमिटिव, वाज़ बातों में। प्रिमिटिव, वाज़ बातों में, सब बातों से नहीं, उसको आप उखाड़ने की कोशिश करें और अपनी इस नयी दुनिया में फेंक दें, तो न वो न इधर का रहता है, न उधर का रहता है। पुरानी दुनिया से उखड़ गया और नयी में जाता नहीं।

इसकी मैं आपको कुछ मिसालें दूँ, हिन्दुस्तान की नहीं, और जगहों की, कैसे इस क्रिस्म के लोग, ट्राइबल लोग, क़रीब-क़रीब मुल्कों से गायब हो गये। अमेरिका में। ख़ैर, अमेरिका में बहुत उन पे सख़ी और ज़्यादती हुई थी, लेकिन सख़ी और ज़्यादती के अलावा उनको एकदम से नयी दुनिया में, या आपकी दुकानदारी, यह और वो, उसमें पड़ के जिसको ओपन मार्केट कहते हैं, जिसमें कोई चालाक आदमी जा कर उन बेचारों को बेवक़ूफ़ बना कर मूंड लेता है, वो वैसे ही रह जाते हैं, उनको क्या आदत आपके तरीक़ों की, और वो ख़तम हो जाते हैं। उनकी जो कुछ संस्कृति उनकी है, उससे उसको आप उखाड़ लेते हैं और आपकी नहीं वो समझते। तो न इधर के रहते हैं, न कुछ, कोई पकड़ की चीज़ उनको नहीं रहती है, उनके दिमाग़ में, यह ख़तरनाक बात है। चुनांचे उनको हमें बढ़ाना है, मदद करनी है, लेकिन हमें उनको अपनी तरफ़ ज़बरदस्ती नहीं खेंचना है, यानी अपने ढंग की तरफ़। वो जितना खुद आयें, आयें। उनको सोचने दीजिए हल्के-हल्के बढ़ें, अपनी चीज़ें रखें, अपने गाने वगैरह, रहन-सहन के तरीक़े या हम समझें कि हमारा रहन-सहन का तरीक़ा अच्छा है उनसे तो उसका जवाब भी हो सकता है; कोई अंग्रेज़ आये, कहे, कैसे निकम्मे हिन्दुस्तानी के रहन-सहन का तरीक़ा; अंग्रेज़ों का ज़्यादा अच्छा है। कौन तय करे इसे। कौन-सा हक़ है आपको, कौन-सा हक़ है अंग्रेज़ को कहने का कि लंदन का रहन-सहन का तरीक़ा देहली से या बम्बई से ज़्यादा अच्छा है। आप कहें, कि नहीं हक़ है। वैसे ही आपको नहीं हक़ है, मुझे हक़ नहीं है, कि आदिमजाति वालों का, उनका रहने का तरीक़ा बहुत गिरा हुआ है, हम बढ़े हुए हैं। मैं नहीं मानता इस बात को। वो अपने रहन-सहन के तरीक़े को रखें, कोई उसमें ख़ास बुराई हो तो अपने आप छोड़ देंगे और बात है। हम कोई दख़ल नहीं दें। और उनको पढ़ाने-लिखाने से वो अपने आप उनका दिमाग़ बढ़े और अपने आप उनमें वे लोग आयें जो कि अपने लोगों को सिखायें। तब क़ौम ठीक बढ़ती है। आपके बहुत सिखाने-पढ़ाने से नहीं।

एक बड़ी ख़तरनाक बात है। हर ट्राइबल एरिया में आप जायें, वो बहुत सुन्दर कपड़े बुनते हैं अपने पहनने के लिए। उधर जाइए आसाम की तरफ़, कितना सुन्दर बनाते हैं, वो अपने बनाये हुए, निहायत ख़ूबसूरत, मज़बूत काम होता है। अब वहाँ पहुँचिये, दुकान एक कपड़े की किसी ने खोली यहाँ से जा कर, तबाह कर दिया वहाँ के लोगों को, खुद पैसा कमाया, वहाँ के लोग तबाह हो गये। उन्होंने अपना काम छोड़ा, बुनना, वगैरह। बजाय ख़ूबसूरत चीज़ के, निहायत गन्दी, निकम्मी चीज़ उन्होंने सस्ती ख़रीद ली उस दुकान से और जो कुछ एक ख़ूबसूरती थी, वो गयी, उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति ख़राब हुई, और बजाय इसके कि एक निहायत शानदार डिगनिटी

के लोग थे वो, अब भिखारी-से मालूम होने लगे, गन्दे कपड़े पहन कर जो दुकान से खरीदे, किसी बनिये की दुकान से। तो ग़लत बात है। अब कैसे करें, कैसे रोकेँ इसे? मुश्किल है। लोग कहते हैं, नहीं साहब, यह मॉडर्न सिविलाइज़ेशन को वहाँ जाना चाहिए इनको उठाने को। यह मॉडर्न सिविलाइज़ेशन क्या चीज़ है, मैं नहीं जानता? यही है कि एक-दूसरे का सिर काटना, जब काटना; वगैरह, अगर यही है तो ख़ैर, ख़ास ज़रूरत नहीं कि उसकी हम दावत करें उस सिविलाइज़ेशन की। लेकिन वो अच्छी हो, या बुरी हो, हम उसे निभाते हैं, उससे निकलने की कोशिश करते हैं। लेकिन उसको छोड़ देना ऐसी क्रोमों के पास जो उनसे बिल्कुल नावाकिफ़ हैं, यह तो बहुत उनके साथ जुल्म और ज़्यादती करना है। क्योंकि हमने फिर भी कुछ अपने तजुर्बे से कुछ अपने को बचाना सीख लिया है। एक आर्मर पहन लिया है, बचने का। आजकल की दुनिया के जो लोग धोखा देने वाले हैं, पड़ जाते हैं धोखे में हम। उन लोगों के पास कुछ है नहीं। वो तो फ़ौरन चित हो जाते हैं, गिर जाते हैं। इसलिए हमने यहाँ, आसाम की तरफ़, ख़ासकर नॉर्थ-ईस्टर्न फ्रण्टियर एजेंसी है, हमने बाहर वालों का आना बन्द कर दिया है। कोई बाहर की दुकान हमें नहीं चाहिए। हाँ, बाज़ चीज़ों की उन्हें ज़रूरत है, वो अपना कोऑपरेटिव खोलें, लेकिन कोई कपड़े वगैरह की दुकान हमें पसन्द नहीं है वहाँ। वो खुद बनायें और बाहर से भी कुछ जाय तो ख़ैर, खुद मंगायें। और बहुत सारी बातें। और मेरा खयाल है वो काफ़ी तरक्की कर रहे हैं वहाँ के लोग और बाज़ लोग तो वहाँ बहुत ही शानदार, बहुत ही अच्छे हैं। शान में आप और मैं उनका क्या मुकाबला करेंगे, दिमाग़ में हम जो कुछ अपने को समझ लें। एक डिगनिटी है उनमें, चलने की, फिरने की, बात करने की, एक आती है अपने पर भरोसा करने की, एक हिम्मत है, वो आप में और हम में नहीं है आमतौर से, इक्के-दुक्के में हो जाय, और बात है। तो उसको हमें रखना है, निकाल नहीं देना है, यह कहें कि हम साहब उनकी तरक्की कर रहे हैं। अच्छी तरक्की है साहब, एक बेजान आदमी को कर दिया और कहा कि तरक्की की और एक ऐसी बात भी होती है, अच्छी बातें भी होती हैं। अच्छी बातें उन्हें ग़लत तरीक़े से सिखायी जाती हैं।

फ़र्ज़ कीजिए, अच्छी बात है यह कि वो लोग जन-गण-मन सिखाये जायें, या हमारे कोई भजन सिखाये जायें। अच्छी बात है। लेकिन मैंने देखा कि उनको रटा दिये जाते हैं, बैठ कर आश्रम में गा रहे हैं सब, एक लफ़्ज़ के माने नहीं समझें, न उनको कुछ असर हुआ, एक मुसीबत है, गाना सिखाये जा रहे हैं। इससे क्या फ़ायदा साहब? उससे बेहतर है कि न वो जन-गण-मन गायें, न भजन गायें, न कुछ गायें। तो पहली बात होती है साहब, सीखो भजन, सीखो जन-गण-मन, एक परेशान विचारों को करना। पहले उसका दिमाग़ उधर आये, रूजू हो, झुके, तब कुछ आप उसको, वो अपना खुद पकड़ेगा। लेकिन वो क़वायद जिसको न दिमाग़ की पकड़, न दिल की पकड़, उसको कराने से उनको तो फ़ायदा होता नहीं कुछ, बल्कि किसी क़दर एक उसके खिलाफ़ तबीयत हो जाती है, क्या हमारे ऊपर एक बोझा डाला है। तो मेरा मतलब यह है कि इसमें कोई यह एक नक़ल करनी कि जो आप यहाँ करें देहली में, उसको आप जा कर करें ट्राइबल एरिया में, यह कोई समझ की बात नहीं है। दिल्ली में एक चीज़ मौजूद है। देहली या बम्बई या मद्रास या कलकत्ता हो सकता है, जहाँ आप ट्राइबल एरिया में गये, आप दूसरी

दुनिया में गये, दिमागी दुनिया में, रहन-सहन की दुनिया, पूजा-पाठ की दुनिया, सब। उसकी आप इज़्जत कीजिए। पहली बात यह है कि उनके रहन-सहन हर बात की आप इज़्जत कीजिए, ज़रा भी खयाल उनको न हो कि आप उनको नीच समझते हैं या उनके रहन-सहन को नीच समझते हैं, या उनके नाच-गाने को नीच समझते हैं, या उनके पूजा-पाठ को नीच समझते हैं, यह ग़लत बात है। जहाँ इस खयाल से आप गये, आप उनके दिल में नहीं पहुँच सकते। जैसे एक माने में आप ये ईसाई मिशनरीज़ को देखें। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि आमतौर से कहा जा सकता है कि ईसाई मिशनरीज़ का कोई बहुत कम मुकाबला हमारे लोग करते हैं उनके सेवा भाव में, उनकी खिदमत में। जा के उग्र गुज़ार देते हैं वहाँ, बिना उन लोगों से, जो बीस-पच्चीस बरस से जंगल में पड़े हैं, निकले नहीं जंगल से, ईसाई मिशनरीज़, पड़े हैं, खिदमत कर रहे हैं, मर्द-औरतें, कमाल करते हैं, कोई हमारे यहाँ कोई तो मैं नहीं कहूँगा। बहुत कम मुकाबला कर सकते हैं इसका। लेकिन वो ईसाई मिशनरीज़, काफ़ी मेरी राय में काफ़ी नुकसान पहुँचाया है उन्होंने। मदद की है, उनका इलाज करते हैं, पढ़ाते-लिखाते हैं, लेकिन फिर भी नुकसान पहुँचाया। मज़हब के माने में नहीं, मुझे इसकी फ़िकर नहीं है, लेकिन उनको उखाड़ दिया उनको संस्कृति से और उखाड़ के वो एक माने में आधे साहब बना दिया उन्हें और एक शॉर्ट्स पहना दिया उन्हें, एक कमीज़ और शॉर्ट्स पहना के, वो साहब कुछ और हो गये, न इधर के हुए, न उधर के हुए, निकम्मे हो गये। एक औरत को पकड़ करके एक स्कर्ट पहना दी या जो कुछ पहना दिया, वो एक गन्दे कपड़े पहन कर इससे बेहतर या बग़ैर कपड़े के फिरती, साफ़ तो थी वो। तो ये सब बातें ये किसी क्रदर जो ईसाई मिशनरीज़ ने किया है, यहाँ नहीं और दुनिया में भी, जहाँ-जहाँ पहुँचे हैं, उन्होंने अक्सर यह किया है, वो एक ग़लत तरफ़ है और किसी क्रदर हमारे लोग भी उसी ढंग से चलते हैं, अपने ढंग पर कि उनको उखाड़ के समझ रहे हैं कि हम उनको बड़े बेहतर कर रहे हैं, और बजाय बेहतर करने के उनको उनके दिल में अपनी क्रौम से नफ़रत पैदा करते हैं कि हम गिरे हुए हैं, हम जलील हैं, नीच हैं, और वो एक अपनी क्रौम से अलग कर देते हैं, दोनों बातें ग़लत हैं। कभी किसी आदमी को उसके दिल में यह खयाल नहीं पैदा होने दीजिए कि वो गिरा हुआ है।

मुझे तो इस बात से बड़ी, मैं बहुत खिलाफ़ हूँ। यह क्या यतीमखाने बग़ैरह, औफ़्रनेजेज़ खुलती हैं, बहुत खिलाफ़ हूँ मैं इसके। यानी इस नाम के, यतीमखाना और औफ़्रनेजेज़, होम फ़ॉर फ़ॉल्लेन विमेन, यह कमाल है। यानी उसके माथे पर आप लिख देते हैं कि तुम एक गिरी हुई औरत हो, तुम गिरे हुए लड़के हो और तुम एक यतीम हो। यह भी कोई बात है किसी बच्चे को रखने की इस तरह से, बार-बार याद दिलाने को कि दुनिया में कोई तुम्हारी देख-भाल करने वाला नहीं है। हाँ, हम [ने] तुम पर इनायत करके रख लिया यहाँ। इस तरह से कोई बच्चे पाले जाते हैं? यह नाम ही ग़लत है? क़ानून से मिया देना चाहिए इन नामों को, कम-से-कम किसी घर के। एक खुशहाल हों, बेचारे खुश हों, जानें कि दुनिया हमारी है, यह नहीं कि हम दुनिया के फेंके हुए हैं, चाहे मर्द हो, चाहे औरत हो, वो ढंग ही दूसरा है देखने का। वो ख़ाली सेवा भाव का ढंग नहीं है, यह मैं आपसे कहे देता हूँ।

यहाँ सेवा भाव का बड़ा चर्चा है और बड़ी अच्छी चीज़ है। लेकिन सेवा भाव के साथ अक्ल भी होनी चाहिए, समझ होनी चाहिए। हमदर्दी होनी चाहिए, दिली हमदर्दी और एक-दूसरे की इज़्जत होनी चाहिए। असल बात तो यह है, अगर आप दूसरे की इज़्जत करते हैं तो आप उसको बढ़ाते हैं। दूसरे को आप नीच समझ के आप उसकी मदद करते हैं, भीख देते हैं, या खिदमत भी करते हैं तो आपने उसकी कोई असली खिदमत नहीं की। ये सब बातें आमतौर से लागू हैं। लेकिन सबमें ज्यादा लागू है। यह ट्राइबल एरियाज़ में। क्योंकि इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि वो जो उनकी संस्कृति है, कल्चर है, वो दूसरे ढंग का है, उसको आप प्रिमिटिव कहिए, कुछ कहिए, वो दूसरे ढंग का है। तो उन दोनों को जोड़ना काफ़ी मुश्किल बात है और यह भी नामुनासिव है कि हम उनको रहने दें वहाँ, वो भी एक अजायबघर की चीज़ है, म्यूज़ियम स्पेसिमेन हैं, यह तो ग़लत बात है। बाज़ लोग ऐसा चाहते हैं, यह ग़लत बात है। दूसरी बात यह ग़लत है कि आप उनको अपना नमूना बनाने की तेज़ी से कोशिश कीजिए, वो भी ग़लत है। तो एक ही सही है कि आप उनकी इज़्जत करें जैसे हैं वो और आप उनको एक मोहब्बत से, वग़ैरह से, खुद मौक़ा दें बढ़ने का। जिधर चाहें, जायें। कभी उनको ख़याल न हो कि हम ढकेले जा रहे हैं, दबाव से, खेंचे जा रहे हैं या लालच से खेंचे जा रहे हैं, वो ग़लत बात है। खुद बढ़ते हैं तो हल्के-हल्के उनकी क्रौम भी बदलती है, जिधर जाना चाहती है जाती है, खपती जाती है, आजकल की दुनिया में भी। यह ख़याल थे, इस ढंग से।

मैं आशा करता हूँ कि आदिमजाति संघ काम कर रही है और करेगी। कभी-कभी मैंने आदिमजाति संघ में भी देखा कि सेवा भाव का ज़ोर है, अक्ल की कमी है। और नतीजा यह है, नतीजा यह हुआ कि उनके दिल में तो बहुत इत्मीनान हो जाता है कि हमने अच्छा काम किया, हम कर रहे हैं, लेकिन दूसरी तरफ़ कोई नतीजा उनके सेवा भाव से कोई ख़ास नहीं होता। सेवा भाव, मैं मज़ाक़ में कह रहा हूँ, सेवा तो हमेशा अच्छी चीज़ है। लेकिन किस ढंग से की जाय। एक ही ढंग है, मैंने आपसे कहा, जिसके पास आप जाते हैं, उसकी आप इज़्जत करें और उसको मालूम हो कि आप उसकी इज़्जत करते हैं, उसके ढंग की और आप उससे मोहब्बत करते हैं। दो चीज़ें हैं, तब जो भी आप कुछ करें वो माफ़ है और अगर इनमें से एक चीज़ भी नहीं है तो आप जो करें उससे कारामद नहीं होती। अब ठक्कर बापा, ठक्कर बापा की पहुँच कैसी थी, उम्र उन्होंने गुज़ारी, खिदमत की, लेकिन असल उनकी पहुँच मोहब्बत की थी, क़दर की थी और मोहब्बत की थी, जहाँ जाते थे। इसलिए उनके लिए लाखों दिलों में मोहब्बत है, याद भी किये जाते हैं और यह एक ज़माने तक याद रहेंगे।

[Translation begins:

Mr President, Sisters and Brothers,

You have heard Thakkar Bapa's²⁴³ praises sung and it is but proper that they should be. But to some extent formal praise falls a little short because we use practically the same words again and again for various people. It is difficult to find too many variations and as a matter of fact, verbal praise does not go very far. Human beings shine because of their work, whether you put up a memorial to him or not. Thakkar Baba is among those rare human beings whose work speaks for itself and requires no other praise. He has found a niche in the hearts of millions by his spirit of service in this bustling world of ours.

It is proper that a memorial should be put up to him though it does not seem very significant to me to put up an office building.²⁴⁴ The real memorial should be to continue the work that he started. He worked among the downtrodden sections of society, among the tribals, Harijans. But I think his most significant work was done through the Adimjati Sangh.²⁴⁵ I agree that working among the Harijans is necessary. But there is an awakening among them to some extent and they can look after themselves now. Many people are already working among them though they must still be helped. But our attention has not yet been drawn towards the tribals to the extent that it should have been. Some attention has been paid. There is no doubt about it. There are some tribal M.P.s and M.L.A.s too. Yet I feel that greater attention should be paid to them.

At the same time, it is important to remember the special work that needs to be done. It is not enough for people to go and do social service among the tribals. What does service mean? I am suspicious of the kind of service which benefits the worker more than the recipient. One has to be clear in one's mind about the goals and direction. It would be dangerous to impose one's own values on the tribals in the name of service. I would say it is also wrong to have a sense of superiority or feel that we are doing them a favour by trying to bring them up to our level. It is obvious that we are more advanced in education, etc., and literacy is a good thing for everyone. It opens the door to the modern world. I am not bothered about everyone getting government jobs. I am saying this because often the yardstick used to judge the progress of a community is the number of people of that community in government service. In a sense

243. See fn 240 in this section.

244. See fn 241 in this section.

245. See fn 242 in this section.

everybody has a right to government service. But to keep one's sights pinned to it is not very healthy in my opinion. Education makes a community progress and I do not mean mere book learning but training for some useful, creative work too. Tribals and Harijans and others must be given the opportunity for education and training so that their skills and capacity to take on various kinds of work improve. After that nobody can stop them. But to put up some ashrams here and there does not constitute real service because they will remain where they were, whatever you may become. The reality goes far deeper. Social uplift can never be superficial. It requires education and training in jobs which are relevant in the modern world, like engineering and other professions, so that they can serve their country and themselves too.

There is yet another aspect to this problem particularly among the tribals. There are various tribes which differ greatly from one another and there is no common yardstick to judge them by. In some areas in my personal opinion, they are undoubtedly better than us. I am talking from the point of view of common standards of people who are not tribals. It is my firm opinion that in some respects, the tribals are better than non-tribals. How can I look down upon them? Just because we wear more clothes than them or the fact that there are other differences like that are no special indication of superiority. Yes, they are backward in some respects. But we have no right to look down upon them.

I often wonder whether by working amidst them, I would do more harm than good by imposing my ideas. It is possible that judged by some yardsticks, my ideas and my life style may be better than theirs. On the other hand, it may not necessarily be so. It does not seem quite right to me that we should judge everyone by our own yardstick and make them like ourselves. Undoubtedly they should be given the opportunity to progress. But they ought to do so in their own way. We can provide the opportunity and leave them to go ahead at their own pace. That gives them strength and stability. Otherwise there is a grave danger in trying to uproot the so-called primitive tribes, primitive in some respects, and to toss them into this modern world of ours. The tribals lose their moorings as they are uprooted from their old world and unable to fit into the new one.

Let me give you an example, not of India but of how in other countries tribals have practically disappeared. In the United States, of course, they were dealt with great savagery. But apart from that, when they are flung precipitately into a new world of the open market system, the sharp ones can cut rings round them and the innocent tribals are wiped out. Their cultural moorings are uprooted and they are unable to grasp the new culture. So they are left neither here nor there and they have nothing to hold on to which is dangerous.

Therefore we must certainly help them to progress but must not by any means forcibly pull them out of their moorings. They should progress at their own pace. They ought to be allowed to hold on to their culture, way of life, etc., undisturbed. If we feel that our life style is superior to theirs, the argument could be made in another way. Suppose a Westerner feels that the Indian way of life is useless and the Western way is better than ours, you will say that he has no right. Similarly you and I have no right to say that the tribals are primitive in their life style and that ours is superior. I do not accept that. They should be allowed to keep to their life style. If there is anything really bad, they will give it up on their own in due course. We should not interfere. Their minds should be broadened by education and the ones who have been educated should go back to their tribe and teach others. Only then will they really progress, not so much by what you teach.

There is one more danger inherent in all this. The tribals weave beautiful, strong cloth for their own use. You will find this in Assam. Now if you were to set up a huge shop there, the people will be ruined though you may make money. The tribals will give up weaving and in place of their beautiful hand-woven material, they will buy useless cheap material from the shop. So the beauty is gone and their economic condition deteriorates as well. In place of their quiet dignity, they are reduced to looking like beggars, wearing cheap cloth purchased from a baniya's shop. It is absolutely wrong.

Now, how is that to be prevented? It is difficult. People talk of introducing modern civilization in order to uplift the tribals. I do not know what this modern civilization is except that it means cut-throat competition, greed etc., which is not something to be consciously imitated. We are stuck with it and have to do our best. But to let loose such values among people who are completely unfamiliar with them would mean a terrible atrocity. We have learnt a few tricks in self-preservation. We have an armour against the crassness of our modern civilization. But the poor tribals have no such armour. So they immediately fall a prey.

This is why we have put an embargo on outside visitors to Assam, especially the North Eastern Frontier Agency. We do not allow shops to be set up there. For some of their basic necessities, we have opened cooperatives. But we do not like the idea of opening textile shops there. They should make their own and if they want cloth from outside, it should be on their own initiative. In my opinion, the tribals of that area are progressing well. Some of them are grand people. Their dignity and poise which are revealed in their manner of speaking, in conducting themselves. Their self-confidence and courage are incomparable. We cannot on the whole compete with them in these things. We must cherish these things, not ruin them in the name of civilization. It is no progress to drain a man of all vitality. Even good things can be taught in the wrong way.

For instance, take the singing of Jana Gana Mana or devotional songs. It is a good thing to teach them these things. But I have found that the tribals are made to learn these songs by rote without their understanding a word of it. So they make no impact on them. What is the use? It is better that they do not sing these songs or the national anthem. They must be first made to understand their meaning. But to learn them by rote with no grasp of their meaning is a useless exercise. It benefits no one. On the contrary, to some extent, they begin to consider it a useless burden.

So what I mean is that it is not very wise to imitate what is done in Delhi in the tribal areas. Some things may be relevant in the cities. But you enter a totally different world of ideas, life style and religious behaviour which must be respected. First of all, you must respect all aspect of their life style. There must be no thought of looking down upon their dancing and singing or religious beliefs. That is wrong. The moment you go with such ideas, you will fail to touch their hearts.

Take the Christian missionaries, for instance. There is no doubt about it that generally speaking, very few of us can equal them in their spirit of service. They spend an entire lifetime in the jungles among the tribals serving them. They do astounding work. I would say that very few of us can compete with that. But in my opinion, the Christian missionaries have done great harm too in spite of the way they have helped the tribals, treated them in ill health and educated them. I am not bothered about the religious aspect. But the sad thing is that they have uprooted the tribals from their cultural moorings and in a sense made them something alien in their shorts and shirts, with the result that they are now useless for they are neither here nor there. The women now go about in dirty skirts. They were better off wearing nothing for at least they were clean then.

These are some of the harms that the Christian missionaries have done not only in India but elsewhere in the world too wherever they have gone. In a sense, we too tend to follow this wrong example in our dealings with the tribals and by uprooting them from their moorings feel that we are uplifting them. In fact what we are doing is to create a loathing for their own identity and an inferiority complex, thus alienating them from their own kind. This is absolutely wrong. An individual must never be allowed to feel that he is inferior.

I am very much opposed to orphanages or homes for fallen women, etc. It is as if you brand a boy or woman as an orphan or a fallen woman. Why should a child be reminded all the time that he is an orphan with no one in this world to look after him, or that we are doing him a great favour by looking after him? Is this any way of bringing up a child? The word orphanage should be banned by law. Whether they are orphans or fallen women, they must be made to feel a

sense of belonging. Our outlook must change in these matters.

There is a great deal of talk about the spirit of service which is a good thing. But it should be accompanied by good sense and understanding, compassion and mutual respect. The fact of the matter is that by giving respect to another you beget respect for yourself. If you look down upon others, then even if you help them with alms, it is not real service. These things are generally applicable to everything but particularly so in the tribal areas. There is no doubt about it that their culture, whether you call it primitive or something else, is different. It is difficult to bring about a synthesis between the two. But it is equally out of the question to allow them to remain like museum species. That is wrong though that is what some people want.

It is equally wrong to try to change them in our own image too rapidly. The only way to go about it is to accord them respect and love and give them the opportunity to grow and progress in any direction they like. They must never get the impression that they are being pushed or coerced into something. That is wrong. They should develop gradually and change and take their place in the modern world.

I hope that the Adimjati Sangh will continue to do its work. I have sometimes found that this society too is full of the spirit of service but lacks intelligence. The result is that though they are convinced that they are doing good work, there is no solid outcome. The spirit of service is always good but it should be accompanied by a feeling of respect and love for the recipient. If these two things are present, even your mistakes will be forgiven and if there is a lack of even one of them, you will get no results.

Thakkar Bapa spent an entire lifetime in the service of others but his hold was one of love and affection on the people. That is why there is love in millions of hearts for him and his memory will be cherished for a long, long time to come.

Translation ends]

81. To Sampurnanand: Communalism²⁴⁶

31st July 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,
Your letter of July 23.

I am concerned to learn about the incidents to which you refer.²⁴⁷ I have not had this type of reports from any other state recently. There can be no doubt that there are organisations like the Jamiat-e-Islami²⁴⁸ which encourage such aggressive attitudes, just as the Jan Sangh does elsewhere. The question is how they are to be dealt with.

It has long been my conviction that a very great deal depends upon the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police. If both of them are competent, tactful and at the same time firm and are respected, no communal trouble will happen in that district. We must remember that the Muslims in India suffer now from a number of complexes of which fear of the future is the dominant one. It is this sense of fear that induces them to behave in an aggressive way. That is the reaction of an inferiority complex. The only way to deal with this kind of thing is to try to reduce this element of fear by a friendly approach and at the same time to be firm about certain matters.

We have also to remember that nearly all our District Officers and Hindus are, consciously or unconsciously, biased in a certain direction. It is unfortunate that so few Muslims are represented in our services now.

Having made the friendly approach, there should be no weakening on essential matters. For my part, I have the strongest objection to trees being cut down for processions or tazias or anything else.²⁴⁹ In fact, I think it should be made a separate offence for a good tree to be cut down. This is not merely a question of giving some damages but of spoiling something which takes a generation to grow.

246. Letter. File No. A/148, Sampurnanand Collection, National Archives of India. Also available in JN Collection.

247. Apparently the reference is to incidents in Uttar Pradesh on 18 July during Moharram. The *National Herald* reported trouble at four places: i) At Laharpur, Sitapur district, two killed and 14 injured when police fired into 2,000 tazia processionists; ii) in Chandauli, near Varanasi, 30 arrested after conflicts over the route of a tazia procession; iii) in Jaunpur, 12 injured in a Sunni-Shia clash; iv) in Tikaitnagar in Bara Banki, when tension over a tazia procession was doused in time by the District Magistrate.

248. Jamaat-e-Islami Hind is their official spelling.

249. The *National Herald* of 18 July reported two such incidents for making way for tazia processions in Laharpur and Tikaitnagar in Uttar Pradesh.

I think that the Jan Sangh and like activities to which you refer are basically much more dangerous because they affect the majority community and make it think in a wrong and dangerous way. This kind of thing should be put down vigorously.²⁵⁰

As for Pakistanis wandering about in India, there are no doubt objectionable people among them. The vast majority of them come here because in the balance, conditions are better here than in Pakistan, or they have relatives or friends here. We may push some of them out by more summary methods, but I do not think this makes any great difference. There are plenty of people in India who will function in that way.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

82. To N.V. Gadgil: Mistaken Identity²⁵¹

July 31, 1959

My dear Gadgil,

You will remember writing to me that on your way to Manali from Kulu you had found many people living in small tents. You thought these people might be Khampas or other kinds of Tibetans.²⁵²

We have had an enquiry made. The report we have received is as follows:

“Our enquiries reveal that no Tibetans or Khampas entered Punjab from across the Indo-Tibetan border. People living in tents at some places between Kulu and Manali are residents of Lahaul and Spiti who almost every year come down during winter and go back in summer.”

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

250. Nehru wrote to Sampurnanand on 23 August regarding the arrest of some Muslims in Laharpur in Sitapur district subsequent to the Moharram incident there; see SWJN/SS/51/item 110.

251. Letter.

252. See the Gadgil-Nehru exchange in SWJN/SS/49/item 81 and Appendix 15.

(g) Language

83. To Subimal Dutt: Promotion of Assamese in NEFA²⁵³

I agree with you generally that, in the special circumstances of N.E.F.A., Assamese should be given some preference over Hindi.²⁵⁴ Exactly at what stage these languages should start, is not clear to me and is a matter to be determined by educationists. But the main thing is that Assamese should be given preference and our present policy should be modified accordingly.

2. At present it appears that even English is started at an earlier stage than Assamese. Surely this is not right.

253. Note, 21 July 1959.

254. B.P. Chaliha had written to S. Fazl Ali on 25 June 1959; see Appendix 6. On 1 July 1959, Nehru forwarded Chaliha's letter to Dutt asking for his comments on: i) Assamese as a medium of instruction in NEFA, and ii) Assamese officers in the Education Department of NEFA.

III. DEVELOPMENT

(a) Economy

84. To Morarji Desai: Income-tax¹

July 6, 1959

My dear Morarji,

Your letter of the 6th July about disclosure of information regarding income-tax. Perhaps you are right that since the Mahavir Tyagi Committee is considering allied matters, it would be better to postpone this till it reports.² And yet, I think that this has nothing to do really with what Mahavir Tyagi is considering. I have little doubt that the Cabinet decision will be appreciated by Parliament and the people generally, though individuals may not like it.

As Cabinet took this decision, it might be advisable to mention this matter in the Cabinet.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

85. To K.C. Neogy: Transport Policy³

7th July, 1959

My dear Neogy,⁴

I am writing to ask you a favour. There has been a good deal of argument for some months past between our Ministry of Railways and the Ministry of Transport about rail-road competition.⁵ This is not merely an immediate issue but rather an issue of the future as to how we should plan and develop these

1. Letter.
2. The Direct Taxes Administration Enquiry Committee, chaired by Mahavir Tyagi, was appointed in June 1958 to frame direct taxation proposals that would be simpler and deal with tax evasion. It reported on 30 November 1959. See Virendra Kumar, *Committees and Commissions in India 1947-80*, Vol. 3, (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1977), p. 111.
3. Letter, copied to Jagjivan Ram, the Minister of Railways. File No. 27 (51)/59-70-PMS.
4. A former Union Minister and Chairman of the First Finance Commission, appointed in 1951.
5. See Nehru to Morarji Desai and to S.K. Patil, 27 June and 28 June 1959 respectively, SWJN/SS/49/items 105 and 106.

methods of transport during the next few years.

It has been stated in Parliament that we shall appoint a committee to enquire into this. The question, therefore, arises as to what committee to appoint. After consultation with some of my colleagues,⁶ we suggest a committee of:

- 1) Chairman
- 2) A representative of the Planning Commission;
- 3) A representative of the Ministry of Railways;
- 4) A representative of the Ministry of Transport; and
- 5) A representative of the Ministry of Finance.

We should like you to be the Chairman of this Committee and I hope you will agree.

The terms of reference suggested are:

“Taking into account the existing stage of development of the various means of transport and the economic, political, social and strategic purposes which the transport machinery is designed to serve, the Committee should recommend –

(a) what broadly should be the long term transport policy of the country, so that the development of the transport machinery may be effected in consonance with our growing needs, with economy and efficiency, avoiding duplication to the maximum extent practicable;

(b) in keeping with the policy defined under item (a), what should be the respective role of the various means of transport in the country during the next 5 to 10 years, and

(c) what is the best mechanism for the regulation and coordination of the various means of transport, so that the transport needs of the country are met in an efficient and economic manner consistent with the larger interests of the country.”

I am going out of Delhi tomorrow evening. I suggest that you will be good enough to send your reply to our Minister of Finance, Shri Morarji Desai, who will be able to deal with it without waiting for my return.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Nehru, Morarji Desai and S.K. Patil met earlier in the day to consider the matter. File No. 27 (51)/59-70-PMS.

86. To FICCI: Public and Private Sectors⁷

INDUSTRIES IN INDIA – NATIONALISATION POLICY MR. NEHRU EXPLAINS (FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT)

New Delhi,
July 8

Prime Minister Nehru told the Committee of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry here to-day that it was Government's policy that though generally the basic industries would fall in the public sector, they do not propose to nationalise the existing industries merely for the sake of nationalisation. The Prime Minister added that there was no question of not allowing large scale units being sanctioned in the private sector as long as they served the overall interests of the economy.

The Prime Minister received the Committee of the F.I.C.C.I., in his office and had a free and frank discussion on the broad pattern of economic development and the part to be played both by private and public sectors in this behalf.

According to an official communique of the F.I.C.C.I., the Prime Minister referred to State enterprise and said that it was for a modern State to undertake responsibility in the economic field in a direct way and it would be better as far as possible that some of these enterprises were run as semi-independent concerns. This would avoid State Socialism and ensure that initiative was not stifled. In this connection, the Prime Minister said that incentives were required both in the public and private sectors, though the monetary incentive was only one of the several incentives that could be thought of.

Making a reference to the development in the post-war years in the war-torn countries, the Prime Minister said that one lesson that could be drawn was the importance of trained personnel. The best investment was investment in human beings. The human factor above all was the most significant and in India also there was need to improve the quality of education, technical and non-technical, besides ensuring that free elementary education was imparted to the children as envisaged in the Constitution of India.

FUTURE OF PRIVATE SECTOR

Referring to the Ooty Seminar convened by the AICC in June when certain

7. Meeting with the Committee of the FICCI, 8 July 1959. *The Hindu*, 9 July 1959.

HOT TIP



Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri advocates friendly rivalry and competition between the private and public sectors.

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 10 JULY 1959)

issues relating to the Third Plan were discussed, Mr. Madanmohan R. Ruia,⁸ President of the Federation, who initiated the discussion, stated that the decision reported to have been taken at this seminar that private enterprise in India would at best be tolerated just for some time to come had caused misgivings in business circles.

The Prime Minister said that his impression of the Ooty Seminar did not coincide with the reports to which a reference was made by Mr. Ruia. Then the Prime Minister proceeded to broadly indicate the basic thinking behind Government policies pertaining to economic development.

While India in a large measure faced the same problems of economic development, as all underdeveloped countries, they stood out more in Indian conditions because of the size of the country, the huge growing population, the social urges which needed to be satisfied in the democratic way. The Prime Minister assured the Federation that Government's approach to economic problems was a pragmatic one. He believed that the question of the developing the country on planned lines was beyond argument. An economic campaign like any military campaign required planning. For that matter, even in an industrial unit, planning was necessary. The Prime Minister also indicated his conviction that there was a wide field for private sector even with the development of the public sector. He visualised the need for the spread of industrialisation both widely and rapidly. An industrial base was, therefore necessary. The building up of such a base involved tremendous strain and resources. The broad patters of industrial development that he and his Government envisaged included the growth of hundreds and thousands of enterprises within the broad framework of the plan.

During the discussion, Mr. Ruia reiterated the position of the Federation that there could be no scope for argument which might question either the wider role of the State in an under-developed economy or the essentiality of private enterprise to ensure an all-round economic growth at various points.

8. Madanmohan Ramnarain Ruia (b. 1914); merchant, banker and millowner; President: FICCI, 1959-60, East India Cotton Association Ltd., 1956-73, and Cotton Buyers Association; Leader: Indian Delegation to Afro-Asian Economic Conference, 1958, Goodwill-cum-Trade Mission to Europe and USA, 1959, and International Businessmen's Conference, Karachi, 1960. *The Times of India Directory and Yearbook including Who's Who 1978* (Bombay: The Times of India Press).

87. To Jagjivan Ram: Railway Workshop at Amritsar⁹

July 22, 1959

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

You may remember my writing to you some time back about the Central Workshop at Amritsar. This was transferred to the Northern Railway by the Punjab Government, chiefly at my instance.¹⁰ This was years ago, but it appears that the full payment for it has not been made yet by the Northern Railway. Partap Singh Kairon has written to you on the subject on the 18th July. Could you please let me know why this delay is taking place?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(b) Community Development and Social Welfare

88. To S.K. Dey: Learning from Israel¹¹

July 2, 1959

My dear Dey,¹²

I think I spoke to you some time ago about sending a small team to Israel to study the Cooperative Movement there, especially in connection with agriculture. I think we should pursue this idea and send two or three men there and they should spend some little time – two or three weeks or even a month.

There is no hurry about this, but at a convenient time this matter might be raised. I do feel that we can learn much from Israel in this matter. I find that there are proposals to send some selected farmers to America and other places. I do not favour these proposals as the conditions are totally different in the

9. Letter.

10. Amritsar Workshop, set up by the Punjab Government in 1901 for the Punjab PWD (Irrigation Branch), passed through the Defence Department and the Government of Punjab before it was taken over by the Railways on 1 June 1956. See The Indian Railways website, http://www.indianrailways.gov.in/railwayboard/uploads/directorate/mech_engg_pu/downloads/workshop/amritsar.pdf, accessed 26 April 2013.

11. Letter. File No. 17 (263)/57-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

12. The Minister of Community Development and Cooperation.

United States. Israel approximates a little more perhaps to our conditions, though it is different in many ways.

You will remember that Divon,¹³ who came from Israel, even suggested an exchange of farmers for a year or so. I do not think that is practicable.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

89. To Acharya Prabhakar Misra: Training for Cooperatives¹⁴

July 4, 1959

Dear Acharya Misra,¹⁵

I have your letter of the 3rd July, for which I thank you. I entirely agree with you that there should be widespread propaganda in favour of Cooperatives as well as cooperative farming. This, to some extent, has been done and is being organised on a bigger scale. A number of pamphlets on this are being issued.

We however think that the very first step to be taken is to train people to run Cooperatives. This is being done now.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

13. Dr Divon, an agricultural economist from Israel, met Nehru on 21 May 1959. SWJN/SS/49/item 182.

14. Letter.

15. The President, Viswa Vidya Prathishthan, Bombay.

90. To K.M. Munshi: Cooperative Farming¹⁶

July 21, 1959

My dear Munshi,

I have your letter of July 18th, in which you say that you are "very much exercised over the new policy of cooperative farming".¹⁷ First of all, may I point out that there is no new policy? I need not go far back and give references from Gandhiji's writings or my own speeches, but I enclose a paper which gives extracts from the last three Congress Election Manifestos.¹⁸ The formal policy of the Congress was laid down in these Manifestos of 1945, 1951 and 1957.

So there is absolutely nothing new in regard to this proposal. It has been a part of Congress thinking for twenty or thirty years and a definite programme included in election manifestos during the last fourteen years. Vinobhaji has in recent years often laid stress on it and discussed it with us.

Any form of cooperation implies voluntary association and not compulsion. This naturally applies to cooperative farming.

There is no fixed rule about these matters, and it may be that a variety of approaches may be made in different States or different areas. I cannot, therefore, indicate the exact form. But the broad approach will be to include only those who are willing and eager to join such a cooperative organisation, and to avoid any compulsion. Some difficulties might arise, as they do when there is consolidation of holdings. That is a matter to be decided by the village communities themselves.

There should be no question of discrimination as such. But the whole purpose of cooperatives is to facilitate certain processes and certain help being given to them. Credit will be more easily available, and their resources will be greater to buy fertilizers etc.

There should be, I think, opportunity for a farmer to withdraw from a cooperative after a certain period and subject to whatever rules may be framed.

16. Letter. File No. 31 (93)/59-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

17. K.M. Munshi felt Nehru's public statements on cooperative farming were vague; he feared compulsion, and asked: i) whether unwilling farmers could be coerced by law into cooperatives; ii) would such farmers suffer discrimination in the distribution of seed, fertilizer, credit and water; and iii) would a farmer, having joined a cooperative, be free to withdraw. File No. 31 (93)/59-70-PMS.

18. See Appendix 1.

As I have said above, our whole approach to these matters is a practical one and there is likely to be a great deal of variety one and there is likely to be a great deal of variety in different parts of the country.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

91. To Durgabai Deshmukh: The Central Social Welfare Board¹⁹

July 22, 1959

My dear Durgabai,²⁰

I have received your letter of 18th July.²¹ I confess I have read it with some surprise and distress. I have not kept in touch with the Evaluation Report or with what has been said about it in the Press.²² My first information is from your own letter and I there-fore express no opinion on the subject.

I have often written to you that I have attached great importance to the work of the Central Social Welfare Board all over India. It is easy to criticise some of its activities and I am prepared to criticise them myself. But one has to see these as a whole and not in petty patches here and there. As a whole, this organisation has done a very fine piece of work in India and brought into the field of active work hundreds and perhaps thousands of honorary women workers. That itself is a great feat.

So far as you are concerned, you have thrown your great energy and enthusiasm into this work and given it the great position which it has attained, I do not quite know what the Board will be like without you. Indeed, I feel that it will lose its principal source of enthusiasm and energy.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

19. Letter. Durgabai Deshmukh Papers, NMML. Also available in File No. 17 (19)/57-60-PMS and JN Collection.

20. Chairman of the Central Social Welfare Board since its inception in 1953. The Board was to promote social welfare for women, children and the handicapped through voluntary organizations.

21. See Durgabai Deshmukh to Nehru, 18 July 1959, Appendix 34.

22. Large portions of the report were excerpted in the *National Herald* on 5 July.

92. To K.L. Shrimali: Durgabai Deshmukh's Resignation²³

July 22, 1959

My dear Shrimali,²⁴

You must have received from Shrimati Durgabai Deshmukh a copy of her letter to me dated 18th July offering her resignation from the chairmanship of the Central Social Welfare Board. I enclose copy of a letter I have sent her.²⁵

What am I supposed to do about this? And what do you propose to do?

The Central Social Welfare Board and its attached bodies have become a vast organisation in India which, for all its faults, has done extraordinarily good work. Without Durgabai Deshmukh it will probably begin fading off and just become a routine semi-official organisation with no life in it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

93. Cooperative Farming²⁶

I am sorry that I cannot attend the conference of the State Ministers of Cooperation to be held in Mysore. For a variety of reasons, there has been a great deal of argument about cooperation in recent months. Much of this argument has not been very helpful and has had too much of a polemical and argumentative bent. In particular, the question of joint or cooperative farming appears to have exercised the minds of some people, even though that is not the first issue before us today.

Some people are under the mistaken impression that the stress that is being laid now on village cooperatives and on cooperative farming is something entirely new; that it is a departure from previous policy. This misapprehension can only be due to their lack of knowledge as to what has been taking place during the past few years.

The whole approach of cooperation has been inherent in the National Congress for a generation or more past. Indeed, the objective of the Congress

23. Letter. File No. 17 (19)/57-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

24. The Minister of Education.

25. See Nehru to Durgabai Deshmukh, 22 July 1959, item 91.

26. Message, dated 23 July 1959, to the Conference of the State Ministers of Cooperation held in Mysore City, 28-29 July 1959.

was laid down long ago to build up a cooperative commonwealth in India. Opinions may perhaps differ as to the content of the cooperative commonwealth. Gandhiji spoke and wrote often about cooperation in the village and even about cooperative farming. In more recent times, Vinobaji has done the same.

But, apart from general speeches and writings, the Congress policy in regard to cooperation and cooperative farming was laid down in the Congress election manifestos of 1945, 1951 and 1957. (Extracts from these manifestos are attached to this paper).²⁷ It is the right of every individual to agree or disagree with this policy, but the point to be kept in mind is that it is not a new policy suddenly thrust upon the country. It is almost as old as the Congress under Gandhiji and it is something which was placed before the electorate on three occasions at the time of the general elections. It is surprising that people's memories should be so short as to forget this.

Our immediate task is to have service cooperatives all over the villages in India. I do hope that progressively this will lead in the future to cooperative farming. But that is the next step. It must be remembered that the essence of cooperation is its voluntary character. There can be no imposed cooperation.

I have been laying stress on the basic necessity of training for cooperatives. All the enthusiasm in the world will not be enough unless we have trained personnel to run our cooperative societies. That training has not only to be high-level training but should include some kind of limited training even for the Panches and Sarpanches.

There is a good deal of talk about resources available for credit. Naturally this is important. But I find that even the resources that were available in the past have not been fully utilized. I do not think there will be any real shortage of resources for this purpose. What is necessary today is a proper and administrative apparatus. If this apparatus and trained personnel are available, I have no doubt that the resources will be there.

There has been a tendency, and no doubt this will be repeated, for bogus cooperatives to grow up, or of bogus individuals to exploit the name cooperative. This will have to be guarded against.

I hope that the conference will concentrate on some of the major issues and lay down a firm foundation of future work.

27. See Appendix 1.

94. To Aruna Asaf Ali: Children in Community Development²⁸

July 24, 1959

My dear Aruna,²⁹

You wrote to me on the 7th July³⁰ and sent me a note on some pilot projects relating to urban community development. I have read these papers. The approach is a good one. The only criticism I might make is that it is perhaps too thorough and comprehensive, that is, the people concerned may not be able to live up to what is written down. However, the direction appears to be right.

I have long felt that the most effective approach in these areas should be through children who go to schools. Practically all the children now go to schools. If they learn what to do in their localities, they will be better teachers than the grown-ups.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

95. The Community Development Movement³¹

I had greatly looked forward to attending these conferences in Mysore City.³² Sometimes previously I have had occasion to attend conferences of Development Commissioners where problems of Community Development were discussed. I have found these conferences helpful and somewhat different from the normal type of conference. There was less speechifying there and more discussion of specific problems.

I have believed, and have often said, that the Community Development

28. Letter. File No. 17 (365)/59-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

29. Aruna Asaf Ali was re-elected Mayor of Delhi in April 1959 but resigned within two months following wrangles in the Delhi Corporation.

30. See Aruna Asaf Ali to Nehru, 7 July 1959, Appendix 18.

31. Message to the National Conference on Community Development in Mysore City, 25 July 1959. *The Hindu*, 26 July 1959. Also available in JN Collection. Nehru did not attend owing to ill-health, and S.K. Dey read out the message. See *The Hindu*, 26 July 1959.

32. The conference of the state ministers of cooperation, also held in Mysore City around this time; see item 93.

Movement in India is of the highest significance. I have called it revolutionary in every sense of the word. I have said so realising its many failings and its lack of success in numerous ways. Nevertheless I believe that in the nature of things, it is performing a task of revolutionary depth and magnitude for it is endeavouring to change, peacefully and progressively, the social order of our 300 million inhabitants of rural areas. Those in charge of this movement have thus a heavy responsibility. Each one of them is not merely a cog in a machine, but is a living part of a vital, dynamic process through which we are changing our villages and rural India.

The real change, of course, comes from within the village, from the very people living in the village, and is not imposed from outside. It is a process of self-development and self-reliance. The outsider can only help a little, give some guidance or a push here and there. That little help may, of course, be of the greatest importance or it can light a flame which will shed its light over a very much wider area.

While realising the great importance of the efficient helper from outside, I believe more and more in self-help and self-reliance. The really successful helper from outside is the one who induces others to help themselves. Therefore, a test of success is how far the people of a village shoulder their own burdens and have developed a spirit of self-reliance and mutual cooperation.

I am also convinced that there should be a growing measure of decentralisation and delegation of authority. There is a danger in this and a risk of things going awry because of lack of experience or training. That risk should be cheerfully faced. In the long run it is only by spreading out responsibility that we will train our people.

I do not propose to refer to the specific problems which the Community Development movement has to face. People who will gather at the Mysore conference are much more competent to deal with them than I am. There are one or two aspects, however, to which I would like to draw attention.

Many of our failures in the Government have been due, I think, partly at least to administrative weaknesses. If we could tighten up our administration in regard to basic matters and strategic points, the results would be appreciable. There is also a tendency for us to spread out too much. Let us concentrate on the major issues.

Probably in this scheme of things, that is the Community Development movement, the most important individual is the Block Development Officer. The Development Commissioner and others are, of course, important; so is the village level worker in his field. But it is the BDO that occupies the most vital position in this great movement. The success of Community Development will, therefore, depend upon the quality of the BDOs. They are, or should be,

the salt of the earth. If we build up a high level, competent and enthusiastic body of BDOs all over the country, we have provided the wherewithal for rapid progress. The BDO must, of course, have competence and enthusiasm. He must have elan. That, in the final analysis, is something which gives quality to an individual and which communicates itself to others.

Ever since the Community Development movement started seven years ago, I have believed in it. I hold that faith still and I am convinced that this will bring great results to our country and, more particularly, to the people who live in our villages. To all those who are working for this great movement and these great ideals, I send my greeting and good wishes. May they succeed in ample measure.

(c) Food and Agriculture

96. To Subimal Dutt: Foreign Visits by Indian Farmers³³

I agree with FS and JS. I think that this programme should be discontinued.

2. This is rather a good example of how we agree to various programmes because we think we do not have to pay much for them. The desire to get something for nothing is always strong in all of us. So we agree to a proposal which costs us nothing. Then it begins to cost us something and we carry on still, partly because we are in it already and partly because we only share the cost.

3. Apart from the question of expenditure, I do not see the worthwhileness of this proposal. No doubt a fairly well-to-do individual farmer might profit by going to the United States, that is to say, some of our big farmers could be sent there. But a typical Indian farmer or agriculturist should not be sent there as he would be unhappy if he were sent. Then again conditions are completely different in the two countries. We are not going in for that high scale mechanized farming which prevails in the United States.

4. The other day a proposal was made to me that we should exchange some farmers with Israel for a year, more particularly to get experience of cooperative farming.³⁴ This was a much more attractive proposal but I felt that for various reasons we should not go in for it. If we have to send people

33. Note, 1 July 1959.

34. See Nehru to S.K. Dey, 2 July 1959, item 88.

abroad, I would prefer our farmers going to some countries like Israel or countries where conditions are not too different from India. More particularly I should like them to go to learn cooperation.

5. Anyhow, in regard to this present proposal I think we should politely decline to continue this arrangement.

97. To A.P. Jain: Soviet Assistance for Suratgarh Farm³⁵

July 5, 1959

My dear Ajit,

The Soviet Ambassador³⁶ came to see me today. Among other things, he informed me that the Soviet Government had agreed to supply all the equipment necessary for repairs, workshop, etc. at Suratgarh. This would cost about one million roubles.³⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

98. To A.P. Jain: Intelligence about Traders³⁸

The Retreat,
Mashobra,
July 15, 1959

My dear Ajit,

As you know, from time to time Kashmiri Lal Jain comes to see you and me and gives us some information. This information has often been useful. I believe he used to be in close touch with Rafi Ahmed Kidwai³⁹ who placed some reliance on him.

35. Letter. File No. 31 (23)/56-71-PMS.

36. I.A. Benediktov.

37. See Nehru's note on his talks with Benediktov on 5 July 1959, item 162. See also SWJN/SS/46/pp. 181 & 441-444 and SWJN/SS/47/p. 358.

38. Letter.

39. The Minister of Food and Agriculture, 1952-54.

The Price Game



The All-Party Informal Food Committee discussed the prevalence of high prices despite peak production.

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 12 JULY 1959)

I was wondering if you could not make greater use of him in such ways as you may think proper. As he is in intimate touch with our trader community, he could help us more than our officials in getting information.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

99. To Harekrushna Mahtab: Orissa Government's Rice Policy⁴⁰

23rd July, 1959

My dear Mahtab,⁴¹

Thank you for your letter of the 21st July in which you deal with certain reported criticisms of the Orissa Government's rice policy, made in our Consultative Food Committee. It is true that various criticisms were made not only in the Food Committee but elsewhere. There is a general impression here that the Orissa Government has not been very cooperative in procuring paddy or rice. You will remember that you yourself guaranteed to me 400,000 tons of rice procurement. As it happens, we were nowhere near that, whatever the reasons might be.

There can be little doubt that large quantities of rice have been smuggled into Bengal. I think that this was and is preventable to a great extent and a suggestion was made to the effect of having a zone which, I believe, you did not approve of.

I am glad to learn that the agriculturist in Orissa is better off; is consuming and has the power to retain more stocks. That surely is a good thing. But our policy has to aim not only at this diffused prosperity but also it has concentrated on large stocks being obtained from surplus areas. Otherwise we are constantly in danger.

I am forwarding your letter to Ajit Prasad Jain so that he can give consideration to the various points that you have raised.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

40. Letter.

41. The Chief Minister of Orissa.

100. To A.P. Jain: J.B.S. Haldane and Agricultural Research⁴²

July 24, 1959

My dear Ajit,

I find among my papers a note by J.B.S. Haldane on Strategy of Agricultural Research in India. I do not know if you have seen it. Anyhow, I am sending you this.

Haldane is a man of high intelligence and reputation, more especially on biological research. I wonder if your research institutes keep in touch with him. They should do so. There are very few men in India of his standing and ability.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(d) Irrigation and Floods

101. To C.M. Trivedi: Engineering Works in Assam⁴³

July 5, 1959

My dear Trivedi,⁴⁴

Moinul Haq Choudhuri,⁴⁵ the Minister from Assam, came to see me today. I think he will be seeing you also.

He told me of the great damage done by the floods⁴⁶ and, in particular, how this damage would have been much less if the engineering works, embankments, etc. had been built as intended. But the amount allotted for this had been

42. Letter.

43. Letter.

44. Member, Planning Commission.

45. Moinul Haq Choudhuri (1923-1976); joined the Bar Association, Silchar, 1948; Member, Assam Legislative Assembly, 1952-71; Member, Assam Congress Parliamentary Party Executive Committee, 1957-71; appointed Agriculture Minister, Assam, 1957; Chairman, Central Haj Committee, GOI, 1969-70; elected to the Lok Sabha, 1971, appointed Minister of Industrial Development. *Who's Who Fifth Lok Sabha* (New Delhi: Lok Sabha Secretariat, 1971).

46. See item 1, here p. 7.

repeatedly reduced by us from Rs. 13 crores to, I think, Rs. 4 crores. The people of Assam are much put out by this fact. The work actually carried out was of no help at all, because it was unfinished.

The question is what we have to do now.⁴⁷ I hope the Planning Commission will pay urgent attention to this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

102. To Partap Singh Kairon: Beas-Sutlej Link Project⁴⁸

July 6, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

Your letter of July 4th, in which you write about some new project in connection with the Beas.⁴⁹ I am having this matter enquired into by our Ministry of Irrigation & Power. You will appreciate that this project will have to satisfy one condition completely, that is, in connection with the Canal Waters dispute.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

103. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed: Flood Relief Fund for J&K⁵⁰

The Retreat,
Mashobra,
July 13, 1959

My dear Bakhshi,

I have tried to get in touch with you on the telephone, but have not succeeded

47. Nehru wrote about this the same day to Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, the Minister of Irrigation and Power.

48. Letter.

49. See Partap Singh Kairon to Nehru, 4 July 1959, Appendix 13. Nehru wrote about this to Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim, the Minister of Irrigation and Power, with a copy to C.M. Trivedi, on 6 July 1959, and copied Kairon's letter to both.

50. Letter.

51. Karan Singh.

as yet as you are busy touring. I got in touch with the Yuvaraj⁵¹ however, and I suggested to him that he should start a flood relief fund for Jammu & Kashmir. Wherever a big disaster occurs, it is customary for the Governor to start such a fund.

Some two or three weeks ago, when the big floods came to Assam, Governor Fazl Ali suggested to the President to start a flood relief fund. The President replied to him that the right course would be for the Governor to start it and the President, of course, would give it all support. Fazl Ali thereafter started this fund.

I think the same course might well be followed in Kashmir, and the Sadar-i-Riyasat could start this relief fund appealing not only to the people of Jammu & Kashmir State, but to people all over India and even abroad.⁵²

As I could not get you on the telephone, I asked the Yuvaraj to convey this idea of mine to you and to consult you about it.

Indira tells me that efforts are being made to start a special relief fund collecting committee in Delhi. This will naturally deal with both the Kashmir floods and the Assam floods.

I am returning to Delhi on the 19th July.⁵³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

104. To Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim: Gandak Project⁵⁴

21st July, 1959

My dear Hafizji,

I enclose copy of a letter I have received from the Chief Minister of Bihar about the Gandak Project.⁵⁵ It is true that there are some elements in Nepal who are attacking this project. We have, therefore, to be a little careful because

52. On 16 July Karan Singh, the Sadar-i-Riyasat, opened the Sadar-i-Riyasat Flood Relief Fund, a multi-party committee of ten. Jawaid Alam (ed.), *Jammu and Kashmir 1949-64: Select Correspondence between Jawaharlal Nehru and Karan Singh* (Penguin: New Delhi, 2006), pp. 260-261.

53. On 20 July Nehru contributed Rs 1,00,000 from the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund, and Rs 1,000 on his own account to the Sadar-i-Riyasat Flood Relief Fund.

54. Letter. File No. 15 (24)-Nepal/59, MEA. Also available in File No. 17 (366)/59-66-PMS and JN Collection. Nehru wrote a similar letter to Sri Krishna Sinha the same day.

55. See Sri Krishna Sinha to Nehru, 17 July 1959, Appendix 32.

we must have the goodwill of Nepal in order to succeed. I hope this matter will be carefully considered from this point of view in consultation with the External Affairs Ministry.⁵⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

105. To Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim: Flood Situation in Kashmir⁵⁷

July 21, 1959

My dear Hafizji,

Thank you for your letter of the 18th July informing me of the flood situation in Kashmir.

No amount of preparation or forethought can protect one from such an onslaught of nature. At the same time, I am not at all satisfied with the steps previously taken by our engineers in the Kashmir valley. We have very good engineers and they make very fine and very expensive plans and projects, but the test is how far they succeed in the objective aimed at. In this particular case, they have failed signally and all the petty works that we have had during the last few years have gone for nothing.

I think a little more urgent and deeper thinking is required and, if necessary, we may get outsiders to advise us. It is no good going round and round the same vicious circle and talk about short-term plans and long-term plans and remaining where we were.

I am greatly disappointed because I have been taking a good deal of interest in these flood prevention measures in the Kashmir valley. Now I find that all our past work has been wasted. I have an idea that our engineers have got into the bad habit of thinking of huge long-term schemes costing vast sums of money.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

56. As reported in the press, the agreement between India and Nepal for the Gandak Irrigation and Power Project was signed on 4 December 1959. India was to bear the total cost of Rs 50.5 crore; it would irrigate 37,00,000 acres in the two countries and generate 20,000 kw of power.

57. Letter.

106. To Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim: Flood Prevention in Kashmir⁵⁸

28th July, 1959

My dear Hafizji,

I went yesterday to Kashmir. I flew over the flood-affected areas of the Valley and had long talks with the Ministers and engineers there.⁵⁹ As you have yourself been there and are fully acquainted with the facts, I need not repeat them.

It seems to me that the only way to protect the Valley from flood calamities in the future is to undertake the deepening and widening of the outfall from the Valley to the river Jhelum roundabout Baramulla. This will include a slight diversion of the river Poll. No number of embankments and dams or other protective works within the Valley can ever get over the major difficulty of flood waters collecting in the Valley and not being drained away rapidly enough. This, of course, is no new idea, but is an old scheme. I do not know why this was not undertaken at an earlier period. I remember discussing this with some of the engineers here several years ago. It was then fully worked out.

I understand that this was put forward before your engineers on this occasion also. While there was broad agreement, it was suggested that further particulars should be collected in regard to the recent floods before final decisions were taken.

This is right, but in any event a decision to widen the outlet from the Valley has to be taken and in fact further particulars can only affect certain minor aspects of this scheme. Would it not therefore be possible to expedite some work in this direction even without waiting for that further investigation which, of course, should go on? I suggest this from two points of view. One is that this has to be done anyhow and quick decisions would create a good psychological atmosphere in Kashmir. The other is that this would afford work for a large number of persons and would thus give them relief which is so urgently needed.

I know that these major works will require a big earth-moving apparatus, dredgers, etc. We should try to get them from wherever they might be available. But still much can be done by human labour by way of digging etc., and where there is so much poverty and unemployment and the need for relief is so urgent, this might well be used.

58. Letter.

59. Nehru flew over the flooded Kashmir Valley for about an hour; he was accompanied by Indira Gandhi, V.K. Krishna Menon, Karan Singh, Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed and Lieutenant General S.D. Verma. *The Hindu*, 28 July 1959.

A decision about the opening out of this outlet would partly affect the future of the Mahaora⁶⁰ power-house which, as you know, has been to some extent eaten away by the floods. That decision ought to be taken soon also, after examination on the spot.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

107. Press Statement: Floods in Kashmir⁶¹

The Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, has issued the following statement on return from a visit to the Kashmir Valley:

"I spent a day in the Kashmir Valley yesterday. Broadly I knew of the vast amount of damage done by the recent floods, but I wanted to have a more personal acquaintance with the position there. With the help of an aerial tour and full talks with the Ministers and officials there, I was enabled to understand the position a little better.

There can be no doubt about the calamity that has descended upon the Jammu & Kashmir State because of these floods and the tremendous damage they have done. What is peculiarly distressing is that many of the development works which have been built up in recent years have been washed away and we have to start anew. Both the State Government and the Central Government will have to give help to the utmost of their capacity. The immediate need is for relief to the large number of people who have suffered and who are now homeless. About 1,300 villages were affected by these floods and most of the people who live there have no shelter left. A great area of cultivated land is still submerged. Help is, therefore, urgently needed and I hope that will come in abundant measure from all over India, both in money and kind.

There are a number of relief funds. There is a relief fund started some years ago by the Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir State. This has done good work in the past and is helping in the present. There is also a special fund just started by the Sadar-i-Riyasat of Jammu and Kashmir State. This is called the Sadar-i-Riyasat Flood Relief Fund. There are a number of local funds also started in some parts of India. Contributions may be sent to any of these well recognized funds. If they are sent to the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund,

60. Probably another spelling of Mahura.

61. 28 July 1959. Prime Minister's Secretariat (PIB). Published in *The Hindu*, 30 July 1959.

I shall gladly forward them to the authorities in Kashmir. I might mention that I have already sent Rs. 1,00,000 from the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund for relief work in Kashmir.

While big sums are welcome, it is particularly appropriate that when a national calamity of these dimensions occurs, large numbers of people should contribute even though those persons give only a little. That produces a sense of national solidarity.

While the immediate necessity is that of relief, an equally urgent task is to undertake measures to prevent similar calamities from occurring in the future. That involves some big scale works and our engineers are paying urgent attention to this matter.

Perhaps many people do not know that this beautiful valley of Kashmir, so remote and so famous from ages past, had had to face the problem of floods throughout the historic period. Indeed, we have reports in the old history of Kashmir of repeated floods. To some extent, this is a natural outcome of the formation of this valley and the mountains round about. The valley is a cup or a bowl surrounded by high snow-covered mountains and all the waters from this vast area come down to the valley. These include not only the rains but those from the melting of snows. All the great rulers of Kashmir from times past faced this problem and met with some success. We have the record in the eighth century of Lalitaditya's⁶² engineering works and a century later Avanti Varman⁶³ and the great engineer Suyya,⁶⁴ In later years, in the fifteenth century, Zain-ul-Abidin⁶⁵ built great flood protection works.

The major problem appears to be not so much the putting up of bunds and embankments, except to protect the city, but rather to ensure that flood waters are drained away from the valley with speed. This means that the outlet of these waters from the valley into the river Jhelum near Baramulla should be widened and deepened. This is a major work and this will involve also a diversion of a small river,

I have long felt that the problem of floods cannot be dealt with satisfactorily here or elsewhere by dams and embankments but rather by a drainage system which empties the flood waters as rapidly as possible, I hope that this major problem will be taken in hand as soon as possible for the future of the valley entirely depends upon it."

62. Of the Karkota dynasty; ruled, 724-760.

63. Overthrew the Karkota dynasty and founded the Utpala dynasty in 855.

64. Avantivarman's engineer.

65. Ruled 1420-1460.

108. To Karan Singh: Relief Work in Jammu and Kashmir⁶⁶

July 30, 1959

My dear Tiger,⁶⁷

I have received intimation from the Soviet Red Cross that they are sending me a sum of money for flood relief in Kashmir.⁶⁸ I think the sum is Rs. 60,000/-, or perhaps a little more. When I receive this, I shall send it to you.

As I mentioned to you in Srinagar, I think you should send a substantial amount from your fund to Bakhshi Sahib for relief work. Most of this relief must necessarily be done through governmental agencies. I think you should send about Rs. 50,000/-, to begin with.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

66. Letter. Jawaid Alam (ed.), *Jammu and Kashmir 1949-64: Select Correspondence between Jawaharlal Nehru and Karan Singh* (Penguin: New Delhi, 2006), p. 262. Also available in JN Collection.

67. Nickname for Karan Singh.

68. From Professor Miterev, the Chairman of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the Soviet Union; it mentioned Rs. 80,000, which I.A. Benediktov, the Soviet Ambassador, handed over to Nehru on 4 August 1959.

(e) Industry

109. To K.D. Malaviya: Assessment of Oil Policy⁶⁹

3rd July, 1959

My dear Keshava,

You sent me some time ago Levy's⁷⁰ report on oil policy in India.⁷¹ A few days ago, I read the supplement in the *Indian Economist* dealing with the same subject.⁷² What are we doing about it? Would it not be a good thing to consider this matter in Cabinet and have a paper prepared for it so that we may have all the various aspects before us and may definitely say what we want?

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

110. To V.K. Krishna Menon: Mix-up of Gas Cylinders⁷³

I have heard rather casually of an incident that occurred in the Naga Hills a year or two ago. Oxygen was supposed to have been given from a cylinder to Nagas who were wounded. They died. On examination it was found that the cylinder marked oxygen actually contained carbon dioxide. Later, I believe, it was found that many of the cylinders in Army depots were rather mixed and

69. Letter. K.D. Malaviya Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

70. Walter James Levy, an American oil consultant, had discussions with the ONGC, the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel, and the oil companies, and visited the drilling site in Cambay and the refineries in Bombay. See Swaran Singh's reply to questions, 11 April 1959, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, col. 10981.

71. K.D. Malaviya summed up Levy's report for the Lok Sabha on 19 August 1959 as follows: i) Importing oil to meet India's mounting demand would become an extreme foreign exchange burden; ii) India should therefore prospect for oil and develop its production; iii) ONGC should be supported fully given the enormous investment needed, but private capital also should be admitted. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, cols 3029-3030.

72. In fact, it was the *Eastern Economist Blue Supplement*, Vol. 4, No. 10, 19 June 1959, which reproduced a paper by J.F. Sinclair and A.R.G. Raeburn, "The Place for Private Foreign Investment (With Special Reference to the Oil Industry)", presented at a seminar on "Economic Growth in the Less-Developed Countries" held in Balliol College, Oxford, in May 1959.

73. Note, 6 July 1959.

wrongly marked, that is, a number of oxygen cylinders contained carbon dioxide and some carbon dioxide ones contained oxygen.

2. A Court Martial was appointed to enquire into this case. Some one moved the Calcutta High Court and they issued a rule last December. The matter apparently rests there.

3. I should like to know briefly what the facts are. I am not particularly interested in the case, but rather in fact that there should be this strange mix up of oxygen and carbon dioxide cylinders. Presumably this took place at the manufacturers'. Has any enquiry been made from these manufacturers?⁷⁴

111. To Swaran Singh: Steel Production in Jamshedpur⁷⁵

July 7, 1959

My dear Swaran Singh,

You will remember my mentioning in Cabinet and perhaps separately to you also what I had heard about the failings of Kaisers at Jamshedpur.⁷⁶ Apparently S.K. Patil mentioned this to J.R.D. Tata who wrote to him a letter on the subject.

J.R.D. Tata came to see me today and gave me some papers to show that the information I had received was not correct; although there had been errors and mistakes here and there, Kaisers had done a splendid piece of work within a very short time. I am enclosing the papers J.R.D. Tata gave me.

Thank you for your letter of July 7th about Sudhir Ghosh.⁷⁷ I think you are right in your decision about him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

74. Nehru again wrote to Krishna Menon on 15 July 1959: "I have now received, confidentially, a note on this subject which gives some further facts. I am enclosing this note." This note has not been traced.

75. Letter.

76. According to *Time* of 5 December 1955, the Tata Iron & Steel Company (TISCO) had contracted with Kaiser Engineers of Oakland, California, in 1955 to build a \$130 million extension to its plant in Jamshedpur over three years to raise production from 1.3 to 2 million tons annually.

77. Secretary, Hindustan Steel Limited, 1955-59; Senior Deputy General Manager, Rourkela Steel Project, 1959-60.

112. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Fertiliser from Coke Oven Gas⁷⁸

The Retreat,
Mashobra,
July 15, 1959

My dear Lal Bahadur,

I enclose a copy of a letter received by me from Dr. B.C. Roy.⁷⁹ This letter contains a proposal to establish a plant for the production of fertiliser from coke oven gas. Dr. Roy wants us to treat this proposal as an urgent one.

I should like you to have this matter examined as early as possible. I am sending you all the enclosures and notes that Dr. Roy has sent with his letter.

I am sending a copy of Dr. Roy's letter also to Swaran Singh (but not the various enclosures). A copy is also being sent by me to the Planning Commission, so that they might be informed of this.

Perhaps, after having this examined, you might consult the Minister of Steel, Mines & Fuel, as that Ministry is also concerned. You can also write directly to Dr. Roy for any further information.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

78. Letter. File No. 17 (361)/59/61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

79. See B.C. Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, to Nehru, 9 July 1959, Appendix 23. Nehru replied to B.C. Roy on 15 July that he was forwarding this letter to Lal Bahadur Shastri, Swaran Singh, Morarji Desai, and the Planning Commission; see File No. 17 (361)-59-61-PMS and JN Collection.

In another letter to Roy the same day Nehru wrote: "Thank you for your letter of July 9 with which you have sent me various papers about the Durgapur Coke Oven Project. From these it appears the newspaper accounts were not correct or were greatly exaggerated."

113. To Swaran Singh: Steel Delegation to China⁸⁰

The Retreat,
Mashobra,
July 15, 1959

My dear Swaran Singh,

The Steel Delegation you sent to China presented their reports about what they found there and what they thought might be done in India.⁸¹ What exactly do you propose to do with these reports? I do not know if they have been issued to the press.⁸² Will they be placed before Parliament? I suppose there will be many questions in Parliament about them.

What I am interested in, however, is our own reactions. What do we learn from; these reports and how far can we profit by the suggestions made?⁸³

Thus is it possible for us to set up the small partly mechanised blast furnaces? There is little investment required and the will, of course, provide employment. The iron produced may not be of high quality, but it could be used for simpler equipment. Also, of course, it could be converted into steel.

I should imagine that it would be worthwhile for us to set up some such small blast furnaces.

Then there is also the question of our putting up small steel plants. What we have done thus far in setting up big plants was, of course, essential. They will and should expand. But can we not, in addition, have some small steel plants spread out all over the country with a capacity of say 50,000 or 100,000 tons? Here also the steel produced may not be too good, but it should be good enough for some purposes like making agricultural implements.

There are, I think, quite a number of other suggestions in these reports about rapid construction, lower construction costs and training.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

80. Letter. File No. 17 (362)/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

81. According to press reports, a delegation consisting of K.S. Raghupathy (Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel), B.R. Nijhawan (National Metallurgical Laboratory), B.D. Kalelkar (Ministry of Commerce and Industry) and M.N. Dastur (consulting engineer) went to China for three weeks in March-April 1959 to study her iron and steel industry and particularly small blast furnace units. It recommended that a few small steel plants should be constructed in India as an experimental measure.

82. A summary of the recommendations was published on 24 July 1959.

83. See excerpts from Swaran Singh to Nehru, 16 July 1959, Appendix 30.

114. To K.D. Malaviya: Oil Exploration Policy⁸⁴

22nd July, 1959

My dear Keshava,

You sent me with your letter of July 19 a preliminary note on what our oil exploration policy should be.⁸⁵ I have read this note. I realise that it is only a preliminary one for discussion in your own Ministry. Nevertheless I am indicating to you what my own reactions are.

The main argument of the note may be accepted but where does this lead to? The problem before us is not merely of developing oil resources but of doing so in the context of large number of other things which consume money as well as foreign exchange. The burden on us during the next ten years is terrific and it is not at all clear even now how we are to meet it.

Thus the question of oil exploration and exploitation has to be seen in the context of this larger picture. It becomes important that we should make good in oil as rapidly as possible and make good not at the cost of our other work or other resources.

Let us take the most optimistic view of what we can ourselves do through the Oil and Natural Gases Commission. Let us reserve the most favourable areas for this direct work. What of the rest, because it is important that the rest should not await our leisure and our own capacity in view of the tremendous pressure on us to go ahead.

The rest or part of the rest has therefore to be explored and possibly exploited by other means and through others. Your suggestion is that we should raise money in the United States and then come to terms with foreign, presumably US, oil companies and work jointly with them risks largely ours and, therefore, profits largely ours.

I do not quite understand this proposal. Firstly, the idea of getting money from the US for this particular purpose does not appear feasible. Whatever money we can get from them is ultimately limited and if we take out a part of it, something else suffers.

I should have thought; of a simpler and a speedier proposition, that after having reserved our own areas for ourselves completely, we would give other

84. Letter. K.D. Malaviya Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection and File No. 17 (204)/56-66-PM, Vol. II.

85. K.D. Malaviya suggested that India should assign Rs 100 crores (one per cent of the Rs 10,000 crore Third Plan outlay for 1962-1967) for oil exploration. But given the extreme need, foreign companies could be invited. As a first step, loans could be sought from the USA. File No. 17 (204)/56-66-PM, Vol. II.

areas to foreign companies to work at their own cost and at their own risk completely. Naturally, this means greater profits for them if they find oil and it becomes a question of terms between them and us when that contingency arises.

The first thing to be aimed at is urgent and widespread exploration leading quickly to large scale results. The best potential results we reserve for ourselves anyhow. The rest we allow to others, if they can succeed in getting them. Even so, if they get those results, we profit largely and they also partly, time being the essence in this matter.⁸⁶

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

115. To C.N. Vakil: Growth of Steel Towns⁸⁷

July 25, 1959

Dear Professor Vakil,⁸⁸

Thank you for your letter of the 21st July and for the Report on the Growth of Steel Towns in India.⁸⁹ I am sure this report will be very helpful in our understanding the problem of rapid urbanisation. I fear it will be difficult for me to find time to read it, but, looking through it rather rapidly, I find many interesting aspects discussed.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

86. On 24 November 1959, Malaviya announced the decision to invite foreign oil exploration. See *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXV, cols 1408-1414.

87. Letter.

88. Chandulal Naginadas Vakil (1895-1979); studied economics in Bombay University (BU) and London School of Economics; Assistant Professor of Economics, BU, 1921; Professor, 1927; Director, School of Economics and Sociology, BU, 1930-56; Director, UNESCO Research Centre, Calcutta, 1957-60; Vice-Chancellor, South Gujarat University, Surat, 1968-71; wrote a number of books on currency, finance and planning. See Subodh K. Sinha, *Contribution of C.N. Vakil to Indian Economic Planning* (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 1994).

89. "Report on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Growth of Steel Towns in India: A Study in Problems of Urbanisation"; it was based on work conducted under C.N. Vakil's guidance at the UNESCO Research Centre on the Social Implications of Industrialization in Southern Asia, Calcutta.

(f) Labour

116. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Dismissal of Bank Employees⁹⁰

The Retreat,
Mashobra,
July 15, 1959

My dear Gulzarilal,⁹¹

Thank you for your letter of July 14. I am glad you are back full of ideas and energy. We shall discuss your experiences abroad when we meet.

You refer to the bank dispute. I have today received a long telegram from the Bank Employees Association which I enclose.⁹² These people came to see me some days ago and gave me the impression that they had not been properly treated. I had enquiries made from your Ministry and from the Delhi Administration. I was not fully satisfied with the result of these enquiries.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

117. To Gulzarilal Nanda: A Slot for Munshi Ahmed Din⁹³

24th July 1959

My dear Gulzarilal,

Some time ago Munshi Ahmed Din, whom you must know, came to see me and told me that he had joined the Congress and would like to work on behalf of the INTUC, presumably at Jamshedpur. He had been a member of the PSP and had been working there on its behalf. I told him to see the Bihar Congress people.

90. Letter.

91. The Minister of Labour and Employment and Planning.

92. According to *The Hindu* of 16 July 1959, Prabhat Kar, CPI Lok Sabha MP from Hoogly, West Bengal, and General Secretary of the All-India Bank Employees' Association, urged Nehru on 15 July to take "strong action" against the National Grindlays Bank for illegal dismissal of six unionized employees and for importing thirty-eight "European blacklegs" to break "the peaceful strike of its employees in Indian branches."

93. Letter.

III. DEVELOPMENT

He has now written to me a letter, which I enclose. I think that it would be a good thing to give him opportunities to work on behalf of the INTUC.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(g) Education

118. To MEA: Selection Procedure of Rockefeller Foundation⁹⁴

I am sending you a letter from the Minister of Health about aid in the form of scholarships or travel grants given by the Rockefeller Foundation.⁹⁵ I find from some of the papers that the External Affairs Ministry has agreed, apparently under some pressure from the Rockefeller Foundation, to a certain procedure for the selection of individuals for scholarships etc. It is stated also that this procedure had the approval of the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister. I have no recollection of this matter.

2. I am inclined to agree with what the Minister of Health has said. I do not particularly like the representatives of the Rockefeller Foundation touring about from one University or Institute to another and selecting people. I like still less individuals or Universities appealing direct to them for help. Government seems to come into the picture at a very late stage when it can hardly do anything except perhaps negative a selection.

3. I can understand the Rockefeller Foundation wanting to know the merits of individuals they choose. But, on the whole, the procedure now suggested seems to me rather undesirable.

94. Note to N.R. Pillai and Subimal Dutt, 2 July 1959. File No. 67 (4)-AMS/58, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

95. See D.P. Karmarkar, the Minister of Health, to Nehru, 2 July 1959, Appendix 12.

119. To Tara Ali Baig: Holiday Homes for Children⁹⁶

July 2, 1959

My dear Tara,⁹⁷

Thank you for your letter of 20th June about Holiday Homes. I am entirely with you in this matter. The other day I visited one of these children's Holiday Homes on my way to Chail.⁹⁸ I forget the name of the place. But this is the second home in that region, the other being in Taradevi. I like the place and the children there. I have written to all our Chief Ministers on the subject and put forward the suggestions you have made in your letter to me.⁹⁹ I hope this will bear some result.

I am likely to leave Delhi on the 9th July for a week or ten days in Kashmir.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

120. To Kesho Ram: Vienna Youth Festival¹⁰⁰

Please reply to this letter as follows:-

"Dear Sir,

Your letter has been received by the Prime Minister. So far as he is concerned, he has not taken part in any controversy over the participation of delegations from India for the Vienna Festival.¹⁰¹ He understands, however, that some difficulties arose because various Youth organizations in Vienna had decided not to participate in the Vienna festival and had written to the Congress Youth Organization here to that effect, suggesting that they also should not participate in it. Thereafter, the Congress Youth

96. Letter. File No. 40 (185)/59-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

97. The Honorary General Secretary, Indian Council for Child Welfare.

98. On 19 June 1959.

99. See item 1, here paragraphs 25 and 26.

100. Note, 3 July 1959.

101. The Seventh World Festival of Youth and Students, organized jointly by the International Union of Students and the World Federation of Democratic Youth, was held in Vienna, 26 July-4 August 1959. *The Times of India*, 4 July 1959, and *National Herald*, 7 August 1959. See also SWJN/SS/49/item 245.

Organization decided not to participate. It is entirely their decision, with which the Prime Minister is in no way concerned.

2. Your letter has been forwarded to the Foreign Secretary.

Yours faithfully,"

121. To Kesho Ram: Vienna Youth Festival¹⁰²

Please reply to this letter from the Bharatiya Kala Kendra.¹⁰³ Say that there is some controversy about the attendance at this Vienna Festival. Some organisations, like the Congress Youth Organisation, have decided not to participate in it, chiefly because many of the Youth Organisations of Vienna itself are not participating. On the other hand, some other organisations in India are participating. I have no particular advice to give in this matter and they can decide for themselves about the Bharatiya Kala Kendra. Should they wish to have any further information on this subject, they can see the Foreign Secretary.

122. To S.C. Das Gupta: Banaras Hindu University¹⁰⁴

July 5, 1959

Dear Shri Das Gupta,¹⁰⁵

I have your letter of the 1st July. I am glad to learn that you have been appointed Dean of Students of the Banaras Hindu University. That is a very responsible office which requires many qualities and more especially the quality for dealing with winning over young people.

The Banaras Hindu University has been going through a very difficult and unfortunate period. We have all been distressed by this and we have hoped that this period will end and will be succeeded by normal University life and full

102. Note, 4 July 1959. File No. 1 (3)-Eur (W)/59, MEA.

103. Cultural institution established in New Delhi in 1952 to promote music, dance and the performing arts; Indira Gandhi was then the Chairman of its Governing Council.

Shambhu Maharaj, head of its Kathak Department, had been invited to the Vienna Festival and sought Nehru's advice. File No. 1 (3)-Eur (W)/59, MEA.

104. Letter.

105. The Dean of Students, Banaras Hindu University.

cooperation between students and their teachers. A University where there is a sense of tension and conflict all the time, can hardly fulfil its functions or set a good example to other Universities. The Banaras Hindu University, we have always hoped, will set an example to other Universities.

I trust you will succeed in the delicate task which you have undertaken.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

123. To Ahmed Mohiuddin: Popularising Gliding¹⁰⁶

July 7, 1959

My dear Mohiuddin,¹⁰⁷

Thank you for your letter of the 7th July about gliding.¹⁰⁸ I am glad that you are pushing ahead in this matter. Insofar as I can understand them, the proposals you have made appear to be desirable.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

106. Letter. File No. 27 (57)/59-62-PMS.

107. Deputy Minister, Civil Aviation.

108. Ahmed Mohiuddin reported on his discussions with Subroto Mukherjee, Chief of the Air Staff, on popularizing gliding, combining power flying with gliding at the same centre, and coordination with NCC flying centres. His proposals for the Department of Civil Aviation were as follows: i) use IAF officers as instructors at training centres; ii) select new sites for aerodromes and subsidise flying clubs to start gliding; iii) gliding club members to use the equipment at NCC gliding centres; iv) manufacture winches and gliders in India; v) start new gliding centres; vi) train six gliding instructors during 1959; vii) send two gliding instructors for training to Germany as recommended by the German pilot Hanna Reitsch; and viii) Ramamritham, the Deputy Director of the Technical Centre which designed the Ashvini glider, to visit important gliding centres and manufacturing centres in Europe. File No. 27 (57)/59-62-PMS.

124. To K.C. Chaudhuri: Visva-Bharati Society¹⁰⁹

July 7, 1959

My dear Vice-Chancellor,¹¹⁰

Thank you for your letter of July 5 about the Visva-Bharati Society. Your letter and note helped me to understand the position of the Visva-Bharati Society and its relationship with Visva-Bharati University. I was rather vague about this. Broadly speaking, I think that the continuation of this Society would be a good thing, as it might be able to help the University in various ways. I had not thought of any representation for the Society in the Samsad or in the Karma Samiti.

In view of what you say, there will undoubtedly be difficulties if the Visva-Bharati Society is represented in the Samsad and the Karma Samity, and this should therefore, not be encouraged. I do not quite know what I am supposed to do about it now. The Education Ministry have sent you their opinion. This ends up by leaving the Society to find out from its own legal advisers as to what its position is. I suppose we had better wait for this opinion and then see what should be done.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

125. To Shriman Narayan: Consulting Vice-Chancellors on Planning¹¹¹

The Vice-Chancellor of Gorakhpur University, Shri B.N. Jha came to see me today on his return from a world tour. While discussing various educational matters with me, he complained that the Planning Commission paid no attention to Vice-Chancellors and did not consult them. I think it would be desirable to bring some Vice-Chancellors into the scheme of our consultations.

109. Letter. Records of Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan. Also available in JN Collection.

110. The Vice-Chancellor, Visva-Bharati University.

111. Note to Shriman Narayan, Member of the Planning Commission, 7 July 1959. File No. 17 (190)/56-59-PMS.

126. To Sampurnanand: Kashi Vidyapith¹¹²

July 7, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

Thank you for your letter of July 1 about the Kashi Vidyapith¹¹³ and Satyendra Kumar's¹¹⁴ letter to me. You have drawn a dismal picture of the situation. As a matter of fact, I felt the same way for a considerable time, but it was only the memory of Sheo Prasad Gupta and a part assurance that I gave him that has kept me on this Committee.¹¹⁵ If, however, nothing can be done in the existing situation, there is no point in my being there.

Do you not think that all these matters should be thrashed out at a meeting of the Har Prasad Shiksha Nidhi¹¹⁶ and then we can decide for ourselves?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

127. To B.N. Datar: Consultation of Public Records by Scholars¹¹⁷

You spoke to me this evening about the request of Shri B.R. Nanda to see our confidential papers and reports in connection with his writing a biography of my father, Pandit Motilal Nehru. I might inform you that B.R. Nanda is

112. Letter. Sampurnanand Collection, File No. A/146, National Archives of India. Also available in JN Collection.

113. Founded by Shiv [Sheo] Prasad Gupta in Varanasi in 1921 for students who left Government institutions during the Non-Cooperation Movement; accorded the status of "Deemed University" by the UGC in 1963, and renamed the Mahatma Gandhi Kashi Vidyapith in 1995. For details, see the website of Mahatma Gandhi Kashi Vidyapith (<http://www.mgkvp.ac.in/>) and S.P. Sen (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. II (Calcutta: Institute of Historical Studies, 1973), pp. 117-120.

114. Satyendra Kumar Gupta.

115. Nehru was associated with the Vidyapith since its first board of management.

116. The Har Prasad Smarak Nidhi, a trust set up by Shiv Prasad Gupta in the memory of his brother to run the Vidyapith.

117. Note, 8 July 1959. File No. 57/79/59-Poll (I), MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

undertaking the writing of this biography with my approval.¹¹⁸ He has written a rather good biography of Mahatma Gandhi.¹¹⁹ He is a senior Government official employed in the Northern Railway.

2. You showed me some of the notes in the Home Ministry file about the rules which should govern disclosure of confidential papers. I must say that I was quite surprised to see these rules which seem to me to suppress quite unnecessarily all historical or like writings. Why should an ad hoc date of 1916 be fixed for papers not to be shown after that date? Such a restriction is quite unknown, I think, in any other country. Obviously we do not show our papers to everybody. But, where a responsible person is carrying on a research or writing something, we should make him free with our papers, subject only to a few which may be called very secret and which are usually kept apart from other files. In regard even to these very secret papers, we should judge of each case separately whether to show them or not.

3. The broad rule should be:

(1) that the person is considered more or less reliable.

(2) that he undertakes not to publish any extract from a Government confidential paper without getting Government's permission.

(3) a somewhat closer scrutiny will be necessary for recent papers.

4. But to fix a date like 1916 is, I think, wrong. If any date has to be fixed, it should be 1947.

5. I think that your old rules should be drastically revised and I should like to go into this matter more in future. I am interested in this matter as President of the Sahitya Akademi. Government rules should not come in the way of normal literary and historical work.

6. So far as Shri B.R.Nanda's request is concerned, I see no difficulty in letting him see all these papers. He is a responsible person and actually a senior official in Government service. He has done good and responsible work in writing Gandhiji's biography. The only condition that we must lay down is that if he takes any extract from confidential papers, he must tell us beforehand so that we may know and agree.

7. So far as Kashmir papers are concerned, I do not understand why he should like to see the recent Kashmir papers. I would have no objection, however, to his reading through the printed material on Kashmir.¹²⁰

118. See Nehru's note to PPS, 5 May 1959, SWJN/SS/49/item 349.

119. *Mahatma Gandhi: A Biography* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1958).

120. For action on this note, see the note of B.N. Datar, 10 July 1959, Appendix 27.

128. To B.V. Keskar: C.D. Deshmukh's Controversial Views¹²¹

The Retreat,
Mashobra,
July 12, 1959

My dear Balkrishna,

I have your letter of July 10 in which you refer to a press conference held by Deshmukh.¹²²

It is rather difficult to say what our convention should be in regard to the Chairman and Members of the University Grants Commission. We can hardly treat them as normal Government servants subject to ordinary Government rules. We would like them to be men from public life and a certain freedom of expression of opinion is, therefore, desirable. Naturally there are limits. But it is difficult to lay down a hard and fast rule as to what one should say and what one should not say. I do not personally like too much in the way of restriction. It would probably have been better if Deshmukh had been a little more restrained in the expression of his opinion in regard to certain controversial problems.¹²³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

121. Letter.

122. Perhaps the reference is to the press conference by C.D. Deshmukh, the Chairman of the UGC, in New Delhi on 26 May 1959.

123. According to press reports of C.D. Deshmukh's press conference, he demanded, among other things, "political courage" to raise resources for the Five Year Plan by taxing those who did not pay tax; forming all-party governments at the Centre and in the states; improving administration for planning. See *The Tribune*, *National Herald*, and *The Statesman*, of 27 May 1959.

129. To Brij Krishan Chandiwalla: A Women's College in Delhi¹²⁴

22 जुलाई, 1959

प्रिय ब्रज कृष्ण जी,¹²⁵

आपका 17 जुलाई का पत्र मिला।¹²⁶ यह विचार कि नई दिल्ली में एक लड़कियों का कॉलेज खोला जाये अच्छा है। ज़मीन के बारे में आप श्री रेड्डी जी से बात-चीत करें, मैं तो उसमें कुछ कर नहीं सकता। इस कॉलेज के बारे में मेरी सहानुभूति और आशीर्वाद आपके साथ ज़रूर है।

आपका

[जवाहरलाल नेहरू]

[Translation begins:

Dear Brij Krishnaji,¹²⁷

Received your letter of 17 July.¹²⁸ It is a good idea that a college for girls should be opened in New Delhi. You may talk to Mr. Reddy about the land. I cannot do anything in the matter. My sympathy and blessings are with you regarding the college.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends]

124. Letter.

125. A Gandhian, philanthropist and convener of the Delhi Branch of the Bharat Sevak Samaj. He established the Janki Devi College for women, named after his mother, and run by the charitable trust, Shri Banarsidas Chandiwalla Sewa Smarak Society. The college stressed home science, music and fine arts as well as Gandhian thought.

126. He informed Nehru that he had discussed the college plan with V.K.R.V. Rao, the Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University, obtained approvals from the Education Ministry and the UGC, and secured K.C. Reddy's help in getting land near Pusa Institute. He sought Nehru's general support. B.K. Chandiwalla Papers, NMML.

127. See fn 125 in this section.

128. See fn 126 in this section.

130. To K.L. Shrimali: All India Boy Scouts Association¹²⁹

24th July 1959

My dear Shrimali,

I have received today a letter from the Nawab of Chhatari¹³⁰ with which he has sent me a note on the All India Boy Scouts Association and its activities. No doubt, you have received this note separately.

I have read this note and I must say that it has produced some impression upon me. At first I was inclined to doubt the desirability of a separate Boy Scouts Association in India, apart from the Bharat Scouts. I think I wrote to you once about it also.

But I feel now on the whole that it is a good thing to have a little competition and I like the spirit of carrying on an organisation without asking for Government aid. Most of our organisations tend to depend entirely on the Government. They become complacent and lose the élan which they should possess. I am rather worried about this dependence on the Government. So when I see that Chhatari's scouts do not depend upon Government at all and in fact work in a much wider sphere than the Bharat Scouts, I do not see why we should come in their way at all.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

131. To the Seventeenth International Scouts Conference¹³¹

Mr President¹³² and friends,

I was on the point of saying fellow scouts but then I was not sure if I would be justified in saying that because I have not had the advantage of belonging to any scout organisation in my younger days. But I am a little heartened when I

129. Letter.

130. Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari, who had been a prominent Muslim League politician and the last Prime Minister of Hyderabad State, was the Chief Scout of the All India Boy Scouts Association from its inception in 1955 to 1982.

131. Speech, New Delhi, 29 July 1959. Prime Minister's Secretariat (PIB).

The biennial conference was attended by over 150 delegates and 36 observers from over 40 countries.

132. Mangaldas M. Pakwasa, the President of Bharat Scouts and Guides, 1953-60.

see people of an age approaching mine still functioning in this great organisation, not perhaps as scouts, but, I am told as scouters. So there may be hopes still for those who are somewhat advanced in age. I am here on my own behalf and on behalf of my Government to welcome you all who have come from so many distant countries and more so to welcome the idea that you represent.

It is strange how the multitude of ideas that are thrown out from time to time, most of them perhaps, fade out and disappear from men's vision or are suppressed for sometime till they again, other ideas catch on. There are two things that have to happen before an idea catches on. One is that the idea should be good. The other is that it should fit in with the temper of the age. If it does not, even a good idea may be passed by.

Evidently, when the founder of this movement¹³³ started this idea of scouts, he happened to catch the right moment for it, the psychological moment, and so it caught on and as was just said by one of the speakers, it spread rapidly all over the world and now the word "scout" itself has not only the ordinary dictionary meaning that might be there but any specific meaning connected with this great movement. So I am here to welcome you as representing this great idea which has spread all over the world in this particular shape and form during the last 50 years or more.

Reading through your resolutions or reading about your many activities, one wonders why this idea had not come even earlier because it is so obviously good, desirable right for the young and for those who are not too young. Anyhow it came and it spread and it represents the powerful, spread out movement all over the world and it represents, perhaps a movement even bigger than might be comprised by the actual scout organisations because the idea has caught on and in some places even under other names it has been put. But the idea is the same. And so we are happy that those who play an important role today in this great organisation have met here in Delhi City to confer about the present and the future of this great movement.

I cannot assure you that we in India, that is the Government of India, attach great importance to this idea and the embodiment of that idea in this movement and want it to spread and would like to help in its spread as much as possible. But as you yourself have laid down your rules and resolutions, the essence of scouting is its voluntary character. I think that it is a very good idea, very good base and also I do not think it would be good for a movement of this kind to become officialised in any way. Essentially, it should be a movement with the goodwill of government certainly but a non-official movement standing

133. By Robert Baden-Powell in 1907.

on its own feet, determining its own future and evolving its own rules and conventions.

It is a movement, we shall say, to teach self-reliance to the young boys and girls, self-respect, spirit of adventure and all that. If the individual has got to be taught that, the organisation also should be self-reliant and not a pale copy of some government department. So I am glad about this point that you have stressed, I believe, in various resolutions.

Being connected with Government, naturally, I know the virtues of Government if I may say so, but also being connected with Government, I know the numerous failings of Governments and they are many and the hand of the Government is heavy sometimes even when it helps and it results in a loss of initiative, loss of self-reliance among people looking up to Government to do everything, which is not a good thing for any organisation or individual. Therefore your organization will maintain its spirit of autonomy and independence, self reliance and, essentially, the spirit of adventure. Government seldom has any spirit of adventure and anything that Government sits on too much is likely to lose its spirit of adventure.

I was reading from the papers you distributed here and I read a phrase used by Lord Baden-Powell almost exactly twenty years ago that it was the purpose of this organisation to build up the next generation which is sane in an insane world. I suppose it was very soon after Lord Baden-Powell said that that the Second World War broke out and for a number of years devastated large parts of the earth's surface. His message evidently did not go far. Well, whether it goes far or not the message was a right message and we have to try to be sane even though all kinds of forces in the world drive us almost to insanity and an organisation of this type, more particularly influencing the minds of the young, of the growing, can have a very powerful influence in that direction.

It is an extraordinary thing that while, on the one hand, the growth of communications, the growth of technology, science and all that have brought nations much nearer to each other than ever before, have made almost every country a neighbour sitting on the threshold of the other country, have brought internationalism. In fact it is difficult to think of a country isolated from other countries. But, at the same time, in spite of this tremendous growth due to technological advance and other advances, a spirit of narrowness still prevails over most countries, if not all. In spite of all the internationalism in the world, most of us are still narrowly and perhaps egotistically national. We see this amazing conflict today in the world.

Every intelligent appreciation of the forces in the world leads one to the conclusion that the only way to survive in this world is to develop its international

character, in fact, to make out One World, as people have said. And yet, the mind of man or most men still functions in those narrower grooves, and are still influenced by these rivalries and conflicts. We see these two forces at play and we hope and I believe that the forces which bring people together will triumph instead of those which separate and which bring conflict.

The future will show what will happen. At the present moment all that we can do is, first of all, to have faith in the future of cooperation and, secondly, to work for it in such ways as we can. An organisation of this kind is, I think, perhaps more important from the point of view of working for that than many other organisations of grown-up people who try to solve the world's problems by some patch work formulae or arrangement which has perhaps no basis in the mind and the heart because, ultimately, I suppose it is the way the younger generation is brought up that will affect the future. It is really the schools today all over the world and later, I suppose, the colleges, but more particularly the schools, that will influence the future of the world, and the scout movement spread all over but very specially affects this younger generation in schools.

So we come to this conclusion, at least I do, that the scout movement and like movements are more of basic importance in moulding people's character. Character is always stressed in your movement but I am using the word in a broader sense, in the sense of tolerance of each other, in the sense of less of egotistical and nationalistic pride and barriers and more of understanding others so that we may move forward towards that goal of one world which is obviously laid down today by scientific and technological and like advances.

For the first time in the world's history, one can say that it is in the hands of man to build up a world where the necessities of life and even something more can be given to every human being. Poverty need no longer be with any country or with any individual. It can be removed. We have the resources through science, technology, to remove it and I have no doubt it will be removed. But, at the same time, the very forces that help to remove it also seem to increase these conflicts which result from time to time in terrible wars and the like. So in this tremendous drama of the world, we as individuals and we as movements and organisations, like the scouts organisation, can play a definite part, not in the political field I mean, but in creating that atmosphere of fellowship, comradeship and understanding which is far more important than political understandings which are not based on really a feeling of the mind and heart.

Perhaps we have in the world today far too much politics. Being myself enveloped and engrossed in politics, I react sometimes strongly against them and feel that it would be a good thing for the world if we could have a holiday from politics. In a sense we really cannot help being without it. Of course, in a

general sense we could get away from the purely political problems and think of problems in other ways from other points of view; if you could get away from the slogans and catch phrases which political groups and parties use and which originally, perhaps, had some truth in them or, at any rate, something that people believed in. But too frequent use becomes stale and out-worn and loses all meaning except that one shouts at them and the more that one uses these rather out-worn phrases and slogans, the less meaning they have and they take the place of thinking because people, when they use a phrase like that, think that they have performed an act which they have not and then they do not take the trouble to think.

Therefore, if we could perhaps do away with these well-worn phrases, which come so aptly to the politician, and try to ban their use for a while and deal with problems minus the slogans and such phrases, I imagine it may be a little easier to deal with the problem because the moment you use those particular phrases, you rouse up the antagonism of somebody else who does not like the phrase and then you are not discussing the problem but you are discussing phrases, which is very different.

I do not know whether it is possible for any one, and more especially politicians, to do away with these so-called phrases and slogans. But anyhow the point is that in a changing world, the phrase and the slogan of yesterday however good it was, may not be totally appropriate today and what may be appropriate today may not fit in tomorrow. That realisation is helpful because it takes us out of our own grooves of thought for we all live in grooves, individual grooves, narrow grooves, and think that anybody outside that groove is outside the place and has not had the glimpse of the truth yet.

So anything that takes us out of that narrow groove helps. It points out our mind to other grooves and other ways of thinking, and that itself is a tremendous help. The scout movement, I have no doubt, does that. It is meant to do that, to take young boys out of what might be called grooves of thought, meet others, play with others, have adventures with others and make them understand that possibly there are many ways of doing things, there are many approaches even to the truth.

Truth is the monopoly of no individual, no group and, if I may say so with all respect, of no one religion. And that understanding itself is the beginning of the wider and more tolerant approach which helps greatly because ultimately while reason and logic count, and should count of course in the world's affairs, most of us are pushed this way or that way by our likes, dislikes, prejudices, inherited approaches and the like. There are the grooves in which we live. The more we can pull ourselves out of those grooves, the more we can understand others and the more the world becomes a larger home for us and not only the

limited home that we may have.

I often think of a very great man who lived in India long ages ago, more than 2,000 years ago. He was an emperor, the Emperor Ashoka, who was loved almost all over this great country and even beyond. His message is carved in rock and stone, which is still there in the original rock, many messages which you can see. And among these many messages is one in which, he is addressing of course his people, he says: "Respect your faith but respect also the faith of the other person. If you respect the faith of the other person, he will respect your faith. If you do not, then he will not respect yours and your faith will go down in his eyes." Something like this.

This is one of his messages carved in huge boulders of rock which still exist after 2,300 years and that is essentially the message of tolerance, of understanding and trying to understand each other or respecting each other; not giving up what you believe in but respecting the other's faith, the other's belief. I am not talking about the realm of religion but other realms too which today count so much. It creates so many barriers.

So, perhaps the scout movement may well be said to represent, among other things, this message from an eminent Indian ruler who lived 2,300 years ago in this country and whose name is still revered here because he was a man who was successful in war but in middle of war he gave up war and said war was not good enough. He said: "I shall devote myself in future to peace and peace alone."

There are very few instances I suppose of a man giving up war, who has been successful in the war, in the middle of war, middle of success, just turning away from it. It is a noble example to remember. There are noble examples, of course, in every country. Great men have come to every country and left their messages and the messages, which have been the messages of peace and comradeship and brotherhood, have lost through centuries and ages. The other messages have gradually faded away because peace and understanding and common humanity are after all or ought to be the basic urges of human beings, not war and conflict. I take it that this great organization, which has now existed for half a century or more, represents essentially those urges. That is why it has spread so much all over the world and that is why I am sure it will grow and its success will be in the measure of humanity advancing towards this goal. I welcome you again.

(h) Culture

132. To the League of Penfriends¹³⁴

I have watched the growth of the League of Penfriends with interest. The idea of forming friendships and enlarging our contacts through this method seems to me excellent and deserving of every encouragement. The motto they have chosen — “Love All – Hate None” — is a very ambitious one. If we would live up to it, there would be no trouble in the world. In any event, let us cherish the sovereign virtue of tolerance and try to understand even those who may be different. It is only the narrow-minded who want others to be in their own image. One of the great wonders and charms of the world is its great variety. Let all of us be ourselves and, at the same time, tolerant and appreciative of others who are not like us. I take it that the League of Penfriends is meant to bring about this understanding and friendly toleration. May it succeed in its work.

133. To Humayun Kabir: Autonomy of National Akademies¹³⁵

July 3, 1959

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of July 2nd about the Akademies.¹³⁶ How has this question arisen at this stage? Have any difficulties been experienced?

I do not think there is any analogy between any of these Akademies¹³⁷ and the Life Insurance Corporation. Even the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research stands on a different footing, although it is autonomous. So far as the LIC is concerned, it deals with vast sums of money which have to be invested. The manner of investment may be such as to help or hinder Government's policies. Hence all powers of supervision are necessary as our whole economy will be affected.

134. Message, 2 July 1959. File No. 9/2/59-PMP, Vol. V. Also available in PIB and JN Collection. Sent to Radha Raman, the executive-director of the League of Penfriends, for the 36th foundation day of the League, observed on 4 August 1959.

135. Letter. File No. 40 (184)/59-PMS.

136. See Humayun Kabir to Nehru, 2 July 1959, Appendix 11.

137. Namely, Sahitya Akademi, Lalit Kala Akademi and Sangeet Natak Akademi.

To say that Government is responsible to Parliament because the money comes from Government is partly true. But I think we should recognise and develop a convention that these Akademies are completely free in their respective spheres. The less Government has to do with them, the better. Indeed, I dislike basically the idea of Government directing cultural and literary activities. More or less this has been our practice and convention in regard to these Akademies. Why then is it necessary to have fresh legislation? If questions are asked in Parliament, we can well say that Government does not interfere in the internal working of these Akademies. Of course, if there is a question of fraud or misappropriation of funds or something like that, this would be a different matter.

Personally I do not think it necessary or even right for all the financial rules of Government to apply to these Akademies. That is to say, I do not see why the Akademies should burden themselves with the heavy expenditure which these Government financial rules lay down. I do not approve of the use of double first class, or whatever it is, and so much per day, etc. Private organisations do not live in this expensive way. Therefore, the Akademies should have their own rules about such payments.

But I agree that it would be desirable for the Treasurer of the Akademi to be a financial officer of Government. Also that there should be a Finance Committee of the Akademi and it should meet at regular intervals to consider statements of receipts and expenditure.

I do not see the necessity of a National Trust or indeed of any legislation at present. We can lay down these conventions and follow them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

134. To D.G. Tendulkar: Resignation from NBT¹³⁸

July 7, 1959

My dear Tendulkar,

I have your letter of the 6th July. I am sorry to learn that you have resigned from the National Book Trust. I would have liked you to continue there even though you did not approve of some things they did. We have to function in

138. Letter. D.G. Tendulkar Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection and File No. 2(427)/62-64-PMS, Vol. I.

this way in any democratic set-up. However, as your resignation has been accepted, there the matter ends for the time being.

I am going tomorrow night for ten days to Mashobra near Simla.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

135. To Jagjivan Ram: Railway Posters¹³⁹

The Retreat,
Mashobra,
July 13, 1959

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

Here in the house I am staying in at Mashobra, there are a large number of Railway posters depicting various scenes in India. They are very good and quite artistic. As I do not travel much by rail, I had not seen most of them before.

It seems to me that many of these posters would be very good propaganda in foreign countries. I wonder if your Ministry has sent any of these abroad. Many of these posters could well be displayed in our Missions abroad.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

139. Letter. File No. 27 (50)/59-65-PMS, Vol. I. Also available in JN Collection.

136. To Nooruddin Ahmed: Maulana Azad's Books¹⁴⁰

The Retreat,
Mashobra,
July 13, 1959

My dear Nooruddin Ahmed,¹⁴¹
I have your letter of July 10.¹⁴²

Some time ago, a well-known Publishing House in Karachi named, I think, the Taj Publishing House, wrote to me about the publication of Maulana Azad's books in Pakistan. They pointed out that unauthorised editions were being issued and they asked for sole authority to publish Maulana's books. Further they asked for authority to deal with those who were bringing out these books without permission. I referred their letter to Shri Humayun Kabir, who consulted the heirs of Maulana Azad. I was given to understand that the Taj Publishing House was given this authority on certain terms. Also they were told that they could proceed against the unauthorised publishers. I do not know what has happened since then.

I do not think that the Home Ministry can take any steps about books that are published without authority. The heirs or their authorised agents alone can do so. I am, however, drawing the attention of the Home Ministry to this matter and requesting them to prevent, as far as possible, the import of these unauthorised publications from Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

140. Letter. File No. 9/15/58-59-60, PMP. Also available in File No. 41/9/59-Poll I, MHA.

141. Abul Kalam Azad's nephew.

142. Nooruddin Ahmed complained to Nehru that, after Maulana Azad's death in February 1957, unauthorized editions of almost all his Urdu works were being published in Lahore and Karachi and also distributed from Urdu Bazar in Delhi; he requested action at "the top political level." File No. 41/9/59-Poll I, MHA.

137. To MHA: Sale of Unauthorised Publications¹⁴³

Please see the letter from Shri Nooruddin Ahmed and my reply to him. I do not know how these unauthorised publications come from Pakistan to India and how far it is possible to stop them. Are they smuggled in or do they come through regular channels? There is no doubt that these are unauthorised publications. If anything can be done about them, the Home Ministry might enquire into the matter.¹⁴⁴

138. To Krishna Kripalani: English Translations of Indian Literature¹⁴⁵

The Retreat,
Mashobra,
July 16, 1959

My dear Krishna,¹⁴⁶

I have received your letter of the 9th July from New York¹⁴⁷ and read it with interest.

I do not see any objection to our availing ourselves of help from the Rockefeller Foundation in getting translations made of Tagore's works as well as other well-known books. To begin with, we might concentrate on Tagore, and you might pursue this matter further with the foundation.

I take it that the proposal is that the Rockefeller Foundation will give the Sahitya Akademi the services of a competent writer and translator. He will work under the auspices of the Sahitya Akademi and will revise English translations of Indian works.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

143. Note, Mashobra, 13 July 1959. File No. 9/15/58-59-60, PMP. Also available in File No. 41/9/59-Poll I, MHA.

144. See Balbir Singh to N. Sahgal, 4 November 1959, and note of N. Sahgal, 17 November 1959, Appendices 51 and 52.

145. Letter. File No. S.A. 80B, Part III, Secretary's Tour Abroad, Sahitya Akademi's Records. Also available in JN Collection and File No. 40 (7)/59-63-PMS, Vol. I.

146. Secretary, Sahitya Akademi.

147. See excerpts from Krishna Kripalani to Nehru, 9 July 1959, Appendix 22.

139. To Gobindram J. Watumull: Radhakrishnan's Visit to Hawaii¹⁴⁸

23rd July, 1959

My dear Mr. Watumull,¹⁴⁹

Thank you for your letter of July 17 and the press clippings that you have sent about our Vice-President's visit to Hawaii.¹⁵⁰ I have been reading about his visit there in the messages we have received from various sources. I am glad that he could attend this East-West Philosophers' Conference. As you know, he is our most distinguished philosopher and citizen.

I would indeed be happy to be able to visit Hawaii, but I cannot say when this is likely to happen.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

140. Encouragement of Tourist Traffic¹⁵¹

Even in the remote periods of India's history, our people travelled to far countries carrying the message of India's art and literature, philosophy and religion. Visitors from these distant countries also came to India attracted to her in many ways. There was thus this traffic which was not only profitable, but brought a measure of understanding to the travellers who came and to those who went from India. In those days India's doors were open to visitors from abroad who were welcomed with friendship and tolerance.

148. Letter.

149. Gobindram J. Watumull; prominent India-born businessman and philanthropist in Hawaii; established in 1942 the Watumull Foundation to promote cultural exchanges, mainly scholarships, between India and USA; died in Honolulu on 13 August 1959 aged 68. *The Hindu*, 14 Aug. 1959.

150. S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President, was on a five-day visit to Hawaii in the second week of July 1959. He attended an East-West philosophers' conference, and spoke on "The Crisis of Faith" at the University of Hawaii, where he also received the honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters. *The Times of India*, 10 July 1959, *The Hindu*, 14 August 1959 and the website of the University of Hawaii, <http://www.hawaii.edu/offices/bor/honorary.php?person=EB>, accessed on 26 April 2013.

151. Message [not clear to whom addressed], 23 July 1959. File No. 27 (50)/59-65-PMS, Vol. I.

In subsequent years this traffic went down for a variety of reasons and India became rather cut off from the rest of the world. Now the wheel has turned full circle and again large numbers of travellers come to India from abroad and go from India to other countries. The figure of tourists and visitors increases year by year. More than a hundred thousand foreigners come to India every year now not only as tourists, but also as businessmen, scholars and delegates to conferences. We must welcome these friendly visitors from abroad not only for economic reasons, for tourism brings foreign exchange, but even more so because this leads to greater understanding and mutual appreciation. There is nothing that the world needs today more than this mutual understanding.

Our people are by tradition and habit kind and courteous to foreign visitors. They will continue to welcome them. But I would particularly like to impress upon officials and others connected with the departments of government in the States and at the Centre to give unfailing courtesy and consideration to visitors. I understand that certain steps have already been taken by governmental departments to relax frontier formalities and to minimise in other ways inconvenience and delays to tourists visiting our country. I welcome these steps. But what I am more concerned with is not so much the formal step as the imaginative approach to this problem. Government officials, especially those concerned with Customs and the like, have sometimes to deal with difficult problems and develop a hard exterior. They must realise that while necessary rules and regulations have to be enforced, this must be done with every courtesy and friendly behaviour. The visitor from abroad has to be welcomed as a guest and a friend so that he returns to his own country and carries back with him happy memories of his visit to India.

141. To Kesho Ram: Financial Aid for Jigar Moradabadi¹⁵²

I was told today by Shri Hayatullah Ansari¹⁵³ that Jigar Muradabadi,¹⁵⁴ the well known Urdu poet, was ill with heart trouble and in considerable financial

152. Note, 28 July 1959.

153. Editor of *Qaumi Awaz*, the Urdu daily founded by Nehru, and Member, Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council.

154. Jigar Moradabadi, also spelt Muradabadi, nom de plume of Ali Sikandar (1890-1960); Urdu poet and ghazal writer; from Moradabad in UP but moved to Gonda, near Lucknow, early in his life; received the Sahitya Akademi Award (1958) for *Atishe Gul*. Nagendra Kumar Singh (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Muslim Biography*, Vol. 1, p. 393.

difficulties. He could not even afford the medicines etc. for his treatment. It appears that the U.P. Government is paying him rupees one hundred a month, and the Central Government, under our scheme for aiding indigent writers etc., has been paying him rupees one hundred and fifty a month. Thus, he has been getting rupees two hundred and fifty a month, but this does not go far to help him in his treatment.

2. So far as the central aid of rupees one hundred and fifty a month is concerned, it ended two months ago. Perhaps, it is being renewed for a further period. You might enquire.

3. Apart from this, you might send rupees five hundred to Jigar Muradabadi, Gonda, U.P. I think this might come from the Discretionary Fund.

(i) Health

142. To D.P. Karmarkar: Clinical Trial on a Contraceptive¹⁵⁵

July 2, 1959

My dear Karmarkar,

I am sending you a letter from our Ambassador in Washington and my reply.¹⁵⁶ This is about an oral contraceptive which Dr. Gregory Pincus is said to have produced. I know that a good deal of work has been done in regard to contraceptives in India, more especially by Dr. S.N. Sanyal.¹⁵⁷ Nevertheless, I do not quite understand why our Government should object to a trial being made on human beings of Dr. Pincus' oral contraceptive.

In the course of the next three or four days, I am meeting J.R.D. Tata. I do not know what he is coming to see me for, but it may be that he will refer to this oral contraceptive.¹⁵⁸

Please let me know what the position is.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

155. Letter. File No. 28 (68)/60-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

156. Nehru replied on 2 July to M.C. Chagla's letter of 23 June in which Chagla had referred to the oral contraceptive developed by Gregory Pincus, an American biologist. Nehru's reply was on the same lines as in this letter. Chagla's letter has not been traced.

157. A scientist with the Calcutta Bacteriological Institute. *Life*, 23 November 1959.

158. J.R.D. Tata met Nehru on 7 July; see item 111. Tata was closely associated with the family planning movement in India.

143. To M.C. Chagla: Health Ministry's Stand on Clinical Trial¹⁵⁹

July 3, 1959

My dear Chagla,

I have already written to you¹⁶⁰ in reply to your letter about the oral contraceptive evolved by Dr. Pincus. I referred this matter¹⁶¹ to our Health Ministry who have sent me note by Col. B.L. Raina,¹⁶² Director of Family Planning, in regard to this matter.¹⁶³ I enclose a copy of this note.

In view of what Col. Raina says, we can hardly recommend the use of this oral contraceptive as a trial measure here on human beings. It does seem odd to me that this trial on human beings is not conducted in the United States itself, and more especially on white women. Surely the obvious place for trial was the United States.¹⁶⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

159. Letter. File No. 28 (68)/60-71-PMS.

160. See item 142, fn 156.

161. Around this time B.F.H.B. (Badraddin) Tyabji, the Ambassador of India to West Germany, had also written to Subimal Dutt on this matter; see Appendix 2.

162. Bishin Lal Raina; officer in Army Medical Corps with varied assignments; edited official history of Medical Services of the Indian Armed Forces; Director, Family Planning, Ministry of Health, 1956-65; Director, National Institute of Family Planning (now called the National Institute of Health and Family Welfare), 1965-69; consultant to Association for Study of Abortion, New York; member, Advisory Committee of Scientific Aspects on Family Planning of the Indian Council of Medical Research, Central Family Planning Council; wrote books on family planning and population policy. *India Who's Who 1970* (New Delhi: INFA Publications, 1970).

163. See B.L. Raina to MEA, 20 June 1959, Appendix 4.

164. M.C. Chagla replied to this letter on 18 July 1959; see Appendix 35.

144. To B.F.H.B. Tyabji: Why Not have Clinical Trials in Europe?¹⁶⁵

The Retreat,
Mashobra,
July 15, 1959

My dear Badr,

I have received your letter of July 1 on the subject of birth control experiments in India. Your letter was sent to our Health Ministry who wrote to my P.P.S. on the subject. I enclose this letter with its enclosures.

You will see that a reply was sent by Col. Raina to the firm in Germany.

We are, of course, greatly interested in these experiments to find out a proper oral contraceptive. Such experiments have been and are being carried on in India, in Calcutta and Bombay, and they have met with some success. In America Dr. Pincus has been carrying on some experiments also. Pincus is referred to in the papers you have sent me.

Pincus has been asking us to experiment with his pills in India. Yet oddly enough he hesitates to do this in America itself except, I believe, to a limited extent on Negroes. We considered this matter carefully and our medical advisers were of the opinion that we should not use these pills on human beings here till the result of further experiments elsewhere was known. There was supposed to be some definite danger in the use of these pills.

This argument, I take it, applies to the German product also. It is true that Messrs. Schering is a very old and reputable firm. I have no doubt that they are trying to do their best. But I cannot understand why these initial experiments on a large scale should take place in India and Japan and not in Germany or elsewhere in Europe. Anyhow, we have to abide by the advice of our own medical experts in such matters. In fact various experiments are being carried on here. These are based on the researches of some Calcutta doctors.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

165. Letter. File No. 28 (50)/58-60-PMS, Vol.II. Also available in JN Collection.

145. To D.P. Karmarkar: The Health Survey and Planning Committee¹⁶⁶

July 24, 1959

My dear Karmarkar,

Your letter of 24th July about the committee you have appointed to review developments since the publication of the Bhore Committee report.¹⁶⁷ Partly for reasons of health and partly for other reasons, I am very reluctant to accept any engagements of this kind now. But, apart from this, I am really alarmed at a committee of sixteen persons being appointed for such a revision. I am getting more and more frightened of committees and commissions. I suppose these sixteen worthy citizens will now wander about India for many long months and then ultimately produce a fat report.

Please leave me out of this business.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(j) Science and Technology

146. To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Old Palaces for Scientific Research¹⁶⁸

2nd July, 1959

My dear Sukhadia,

Your letter of June 26 about the establishment of a Regional Research Laboratory. I have mentioned this matter to Prof. Thacker. He is going away day after tomorrow to England and France. On his return, he will fix up some day to visit Rajasthan with Dr Kothari.¹⁶⁹

166. Letter.

167. The Health Survey and Development Committee, appointed in 1943 under Joseph Bhore, submitted its report in 1946. Another, now called the Health Survey and Planning Committee, under A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, was set up on 12 June 1959 to review everything after Bhore to formulate health programmes for the Third and subsequent Five Year Plans; it reported in 1961. Virendra Kumar, *Committees and Commissions in India 1947-73*, Vol. III (Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1977), p. 358.

168. Letter. File No. 17 (363)/59-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

169. D.S. Kothari, Scientific Adviser to the Ministry of Defence.

I might mention that the old palaces are seldom suitable for scientific research work. They may be very good for other purposes. We took a fine old house in Lucknow the Chattarmanzil Palace, for our Drug Institute.¹⁷⁰ We had to spend very large sums of money for alterations in it to adapt it for this work.

However Prof. Thacker and Dr Kothari will examine all these possibilities when they go there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

147. To Homi J. Bhabha: Cambridge Honour for Bhabha¹⁷¹

July 5, 1959

My dear Homi,

So you are back after collecting more honours!¹⁷² I liked your speech at the Cambridge Luncheon.¹⁷³ I am glad you are staying at Bangalore to do some quiet work.

It is true that I am going to Mysore on the 26th July to attend a conference on Community Development. Probably I shall be there for three days, that is, upto the 28th. But I do not intend staying at Bangalore at all, though presumably I shall have to pass it. Anyhow I hope to meet you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

170. The Central Drug Research Institute, inaugurated on 17 February 1951 by Nehru.

171. Letter.

172. In June 1959, Cambridge University conferred an honorary degree of Doctor of Science on Homi Bhabha.

173. For details, see G. Venkataraman, *Bhabha and his Magnificent Obsessions* (Hyderabad: University Press, 1994), p. 183.

148. To Ram Swarup Sharma: Ancient Indian Astronomy¹⁷⁴

The Retreat,
Mashobra,
July 16, 1959

Dear Shri Sharma,¹⁷⁵

Thank you for your letter of the 13th July¹⁷⁶ which has reached me. You have referred in this letter to my lack of belief in Astrology. That is largely true. But every kind of real scientific research should be welcomed, provided it is conducted on scientific lines. My own impression is that our forefathers in India made very considerable progress in astronomical calculations.

While I welcome the effort you are making to have a scientific inquiry in these matters, I do not think it will be at all suitable for this book to be dedicated to me. I am sure you will appreciate my point of view.

Should you so wish it I shall meet you but I fear this cannot be arranged for some time.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

174. Letter. File 19/29/59/60-PMP. Also available in JN Collection.

175. Director, Indian Institute of Astronomical and Sanskrit Research, New Delhi.

176. Ram Swarup Sharma wrote that his institute had been recently inaugurated by Sampurnanand with the comment that greater attention be paid to astrology. Sharma was researching Sanskrit texts to see how far astronomy in ancient India could be separated from astrology, and he planned to publish ancient texts on astronomy. File No. 19/29/59/60-PMP. See also SWJN/SS/49/item 234.

IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

(a) Pakistan

149. To B.P. Chaliha: Pakistani Incursion at Bakurtilla¹

July 2, 1959

My dear Chaliha,

Two days ago our Commonwealth Secretary² received a telegram from your Government dated 30th June. This referred to the occupation of bunkers at Bakurtilla by Pakistani troops which would more effectively threaten Dawki³ area. You suggested firm action should be taken by our Government to demolish these bunkers. At the same time you pointed out that such action will result in retaliatory action by Pakistan.

We have consulted the Defence Ministry about this. While we certainly object to this kind of thing, our Defence people do not take a very serious view of this. It is normally done during the flood times. Anyhow, we are completely alive to the situation.

I suggest that your Deputy Commissioner at Shillong should keep in touch with our Commander of the area. I think his name is Gazi Ram. This will be helpful to both parties.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

150. To Rajeshwar Dayal: Pakistan and US Aid⁴

July 2, 1959

My dear Rajeshwar,⁵

You have on several occasions communicated to us messages of goodwill from President Ayub Khan and his desire to settle our differences. I have asked you to convey my good wishes to him in return.⁶

1. Letter.
2. M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA.
3. In Jaintia Hills in Assam on the border with East Pakistan.
4. Letter, copied to N.R. Pillai, Subimal Dutt and M.J. Desai.
5. The High Commissioner of India to Pakistan.
6. See, for instance, Nehru to Rajeshwar Dayal, 26 May 1959, SWJN/SS/49/item 275.

But I must tell you that I am troubled in mind. It is bad enough for Ayub Khan to deliver aggressive speeches against India⁷ which do not fit in at all with his privately expressed sentiments; it is much worse to have the evidence of frequent trouble at the border and of continuing violations of the Cease Fire line in Kashmir. I have been looking at the list of such violations during the last few months. This is a formidable list worse than during previous periods.

We cannot take these things lightly, more especially when military equipment continues to pour into Pakistan from the United States. In regard to some forms of military equipment, Pakistan has drawn level with us and is forging ahead. There may be criticisms of this sometimes in the United States⁸ but the flow continues. All this cannot be wiped out by occasional soft words and the expression of pious sentiments. We have to keep on the alert both mentally and in the military sense.⁹

7. Ayub Khan's statement of 22 June accusing India of "aggressive intentions" and "massive military build-up," and of 8 June in Muzaffarabad that the Kashmir dispute was "a powder keg." *The Times of India*, 23 June 1959 and 10 June 1959 respectively.
8. General Thomas White, the US Air Force Chief of Staff, was reported to have said in Congressional testimony released in Washington on 19 June: "What they [the Pakistanis] are given under our strategic objectives are those forces which in the opinion of the Joint Chiefs of Staff are needed in Pakistan to support the U.S. strategic objectives. Now, admittedly the Pakistanis over and above that have some forces which we feel they don't need to have, but they are a sovereign nation, we are doing our best to urge them to cut it down, but the forces that we are supporting are only those that we feel are necessary in our interest overall on a strategic basis." Earlier, Albert Gore (Democrat) had said: "I find it difficult to defend giving vast amount of military assistance to Pakistan and then providing economic aid to India with which she buys Canberra bombers;" and pointed out that the purpose of the US Government might be to allocate military assistance to Pakistan for defence against USSR and China, "but our official who is there with the programme day to day says that in so far as the Pakistanis are concerned, they want it as armament against India." *The Times of India*, 21 June 1959.
9. K.P. Lukose, Deputy Secretary, MEA, had noted on 2 July: "The burden of the testimony of the U.S. officials, to which President Ayub Khan's statement (of 22 June) is a reply, is that the U.S. Government considers that Pakistan maintains military forces larger than warranted by U.S. strategic requirements and that the Government does not fully share Pakistan's apprehensions about aggression by India." He thought it was not advisable to act on the suggestion of the Indian Minister-Counsellor in Washington that some statement be issued to counteract the effect of Ayub Khan's statement. Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, Historical Division, *Notes, Memoranda and Decisions of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, September 1946-May 1964*, Vol. III, U.S. Military Assistance to Pakistan, January 1959-May 1964, p. 10.

Why is the United States pouring all this equipment into Pakistan; why are they building up in a big way Gilgit as a major air base;¹⁰ why, to bring in another aspect of this question, are they going to pay large sums of money to Pakistan with a view to helping settling the Canal Waters issue?¹¹ Surely all this is not for love of Pakistan or of India. It is a deliberate policy, a part of the Cold War. I do not think that the United States particularly aims at harm to India but, in the pursuit of its larger policies, it will not ultimately care for what happens to India, unless that itself comes in the way of that larger policy.

You must be aware of the fairly big supply of amphibious vehicles from the United States to Pakistan.¹² Surely these are not needed against any conflict with the Soviet Union. They can only be used against India. Their possession by Pakistan is a great advantage to it. It removes all river barriers.

I am pointing out some of these aspects of the Indo-Pakistan problems because I feel that there is a tendency towards complacency. We dare not be complacent.

So far as the Canal Waters issue is concerned, we have gone pretty far towards a possible settlement. I hope that settlement will come. But one hurdle still remains and that is the association of the Mangla Dam with all these works.¹³ That dam is intimately connected with a political issue and with our case for Kashmir. I do not like that case to be nibbled at in any way. We want to make sure of this in the proposed Water Treaty.¹⁴

So far as Kashmir is concerned, our attitude henceforth must be absolutely firm and unyielding. We should not allow anyone to imagine that we are going out of our way or that we are going to give up anything to please Pakistan in order to get a settlement. We are not going to encourage any outside authority

10. *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 27 August 1959 quoted *Red Star*, the Soviet Army newspaper, that America was building military bases in Gilgit, Quetta, and Peshawar.

11. The World Bank had informed India that "to win over Pakistan to the scheme of the Bank Proposal, a huge plan of economic development of the resources of the Western Rivers had been introduced" in the proposed canal waters treaty, "with an undertaking by the Bank to under-write its costs with financial assistance it hoped to secure from the U.S.A. and other friendly countries." See N.D. Gulhati, *Indus Waters Treaty: An Exercise in International Mediation* (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1973), pp. 260-262.

12. See SWJN/SS/49/item 304, here p. 580.

13. Pakistan was attempting to include Mangla Dam, which it was building in POK, among the replacement works, to be built partly with Indian money, to make up for the withdrawals of the waters which would not be available to Pakistan when the World Bank proposal for the division of the waters of the Indus Basin was implemented. *The Times of India*, 9 Aug. 1959.

14. See SWJN/SS/49/items 277 and 278.

to interfere with this or to come in, in the guise of a mediator. We are also not going to encourage any talks with Pakistan on this issue. I do not mean to say that we shall never have talks with them. Perhaps some time or other, there may be such talks, but this will have to wait till the time is ripe. During the past few years we have weakened in regard to several points in our desire to come to a settlement and to appear moderate and cooperative. The result has been that our basic ease for Kashmir has been to that extent weakened. We propose to do nothing now which might even indirectly weaken that case.

The position in regard to Kashmir is this: We do not admit the right of Pakistan to hold any part of the territory of Jammu & Kashmir State. At the same time, we do not propose to take any military measures to recover it. This may seem a somewhat contradictory position, but it is not so. I can conceive of a real and final settlement when we agree to something approaching the status quo. But that can only be when that final settlement comes and not in any intermediate stage. Indeed it is best not to mention that lest it creates a wrong impression.

I am writing to you so that you may have a clear idea of our thinking and may interpret it in suitable language whenever occasion arises.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

151. To Rajeshwar Dayal: Ayub Khan's Request for a Stopover in Delhi¹⁵

No. Primin-21101. Personal for Rajeshwar Dayal from Prime Minister.

Your telegram No. 229 has reached me in Simla.¹⁶

President Ayub Khan's visit to Delhi, however brief and casual, would naturally lead to a great deal of surmise. You have yourself pointed out some of the difficulties including that of timing. Lok Sabha is meeting on August 3rd and Members will probably demand full statement and explanations. However, as you say, we cannot refuse a request by him to pay a courtesy call. But it would have to be made clear that initiative came from him for such a visit.

15. Telegram, Mashobra, Simla, 10 July 1959.

16. See telegram from Rajeshwar Dayal to Nehru, 9 July 1959, Appendix 24.

My own programme is as follows: Return to Delhi 19th July, leave Delhi early morning on 23rd July for 3 day tour in Andhra Pradesh, then probably 3 days in Mysore for Conferences on Community Development and Cooperation. Thus, I am likely to be away from Delhi from 23rd to 29th afternoon.

152. To Morarji Desai: Pakistan's Canal Dues to Punjab¹⁷

The Retreat,
Mashobra,
July 12, 1959

My dear Morarji,

You will be having talks with the Pakistan Finance Minister¹⁸ towards the end of this month.¹⁹ In this connection, I should like to remind you of the Canal dues which Pakistan owes the Punjab State.²⁰ The amount is, I think, about Rs. 20 crores. This is practically an admitted amount.

When we were talking with the World Bank President about the Canal Waters question, we brought this forward and suggested that this sum should be set off against our payments to Pakistan.²¹ We distinguished this from the other payments due from Pakistan as this was a matter connected with Canal Waters, etc. Black and Iliff²² thought our proposal reasonable. Later, however, the Pakistan Government would not agree to the inclusion of this sum in our Canal Waters Account, and so Black dropped it in that connection.

But now that you are going to have talks with the Pakistan Finance Minister, this matter should certainly be brought up. The Chief Minister of the Punjab has written to me about it and even suggested that our Government should give them credit for this sum now.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

17. Letter.

18. M. Shoaib.

19. See item 2, fn 35.

20. On 7 July Partap Singh Kairon wrote to Nehru, who replied on 12 July on the same lines as in this letter.

21. A delegation from the World Bank under its President, Eugene R. Black, visited New Delhi, 12-15 May 1959, to discuss the Canal Waters question.

22. William A.B. Iliff, Vice President, World Bank.

153. To N.R. Pillai: N.D. Gulhati's Washington Visit for Canal Waters Talks²³

I have already agreed to Shri N.D. Gulhati proceeding to London²⁴ somewhat in advance and then paying a visit to Washington.²⁵

2. I am a little alarmed at the prospect of long meetings in London to be followed by further long meetings in Washington, and a large staff from India going abroad for this purpose. It is difficult for me to indicate who and how many should go. But I have a feeling that we tend to get involved in all kinds of details which some times come in our way later. There is a natural tendency on the part of the Irrigation & Power Ministry to make sure that they have all the help with them that might perhaps be necessary. But this should be balanced with other factors. My impression is that far too many people have been going to Washington for long periods of this kind.

3. However, I do not wish to come in the way of the decision of the Minister of Irrigation & Power if he has, after full consideration, agreed to these proposals. But I would like him to consider the aspect I have mentioned. This is not only from the point of view of economy, but also from a larger point of view which might be termed political.

4. As Commonwealth Secretary²⁶ is not here, I should like Secretary General to discuss this matter with the Secretary of the Irrigation & Power Ministry.²⁷

5. It should be clearly understood that any discussions directly or indirectly involving the Mangla Dam should take place by some representative of External Affairs Ministry well acquainted with this problem from the political point of view.

23. Note, Mashobra, 16 July 1959.

24. He was Additional Secretary in the Ministry of Irrigation and Power and the chief Indian negotiator for the canal waters talks. The London talks were to begin on 5 August.

25. See Nehru's note of 1 July 1959, SWJN/SS/49/item 279, fn 26. Gulhati had informal discussions with Iliff in Washington for about a week at the end of July. N.D. Gulhati, *Indus Waters Treaty*, p. 263.

26. M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA,

27. T. Sivasankar.

154. To M.J. Desai: Border Incidents²⁸

I agree.²⁹ I think we should send a reply to our High Commissioner stating that we are agreeable, and have always been agreeable, to any proposal to stop all border incidents and that there should be no firing under any circumstances. If there is any kind of complaint, it should be settled peacefully by the procedures laid down. But any such proposal cannot be in the air. Even when this proposal was made, aggressive activities were intensified in the Dawki region of Assam by the Pakistan border authorities. Tokergram is still in the possession of Pakistan, although it is an admitted fact that it is part of Indian territory. Also, border incidents do not merely comprise firing, but actually incursions into our territory, kidnapping of persons, removal of cattle, confiscation of our goods, burning of crops on the Indian side. How are all these to be dealt with? Repeatedly cease-fire agreements have been made and broken by the Pakistan local authorities. Therefore, all these allied questions should be considered at a Chief Secretaries' Meeting or at a meeting between the two Secretaries assisted by the Chief Secretaries of the State Governments.³⁰

(b) China and Tibet

155. To Diwan Chaman Lall: Chinese Impertinence³¹

July 3, 1959

My dear Chaman Lall,³²

Thank you for your letter of today's date. I am glad you have written and given me some account of what transpired in Stockholm.³³ I have had some brief

28. Note, 26 July 1959. File No. 3/114/59-BL, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

29. See M.J. Desai's note for Nehru, 26 July 1959, Appendix 44.

30. Firing ended on 28 July along the border in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills and Sylhet Districts following a truce agreement between the Deputy Commissioners on either side. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 29 July 1959.

31. Letter.

32. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Punjab.

33. Chaman Lall attended the tenth anniversary session of the World Council of Peace, 8-13 May 1959, as a guest.

accounts from Sunder Lal³⁴ and Anup Singh.³⁵ Your account is fuller and is helpful in making us understand events there.³⁶

When Chinese criticisms and denunciations of India were at their height, we sent an informal aide memoire to them protesting against all this.³⁷ To this they replied some time later informally.³⁸ Their reply was, in my opinion, not only aggressive, but rather offensive. We replied to this also again at an informal level.³⁹ We were polite but firm. We said that we were surprised and distressed at the tone of their reply which was not in keeping with the great reputation of the Chinese people for courtesy and politeness and indeed was not even in accordance with diplomatic behaviour. We did not wish to enter into further controversy with them. We pointed out, however, that in India, under our law and Constitution, every individual was free to express his opinion, whether we liked it or not. Indeed our own Government was often very strongly criticised.

Since that last informal message of ours, we have not heard from the Chinese Government. There appears to have been some kind of a lull in the propagandist activities in China against India. The Chinese Ambassador in Delhi went back to China some time ago presumably to report.

34. Sunderlal, President, All India Peace Council, presided at the first plenary session of the World Council meetings and participated in the sub-commission on national independence. See Romesh Chandra, "Peace Council Reviews Ten Years Work, Plans Ahead" in *New Age*, 31 May 1959, and Sunderlal to Nehru, 16 June 1959, SWJN/SS/49/Appendix 24.
35. Anup Singh and Amolakh Chand, Congress, Rajya Sabha MPs from Punjab and Uttar Pradesh respectively, attended as guests; other Indians present were: S.S. Sokhey, Vivekanand Mukherji, Mulk Raj Anand, Chatur Narain Malviya and the poet Sri Sri. *New Age*, 31 May 1959.
36. The Stockholm meeting demanded, among other, "the restoration of Goa to India," and formed a 24-member Presidential Committee, with J.D. Bernal as its Chairman, and included two Indians, Sunderlal and Saifuddin Kitchlew, a former General Secretary of the Congress. See *Bulletin of the World Council of Peace*, special number, issued after the tenth anniversary session of the World Council of Peace, Stockholm, 8-13 May 1959.
37. On 26 April 1959, Subimal Dutt to Pan Tzu-li, the Ambassador of China to India; see Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, *Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreements signed between the Governments of India and China, 1954-1959, White Paper* (n.p., n.d.) [New Delhi, 1959], pp. 68-69. The White Paper was tabled in both Houses of Parliament by Nehru on 7 September 1959.
38. On 16 May 1959, Pan Tzu-li to Subimal Dutt; *White Paper*, pp. 73-76.
39. On 23 May 1959, Subimal Dutt to Pan Tzu-li. The statement was drafted by Nehru; see Nehru's note to Subimal Dutt, 22 May 1959, SWJN/SS/49/item 303. See also *White Paper*, pp. 77-78.

I might add, however, that the Chinese officials in Tibet continue to behave arrogantly and sometimes offensively to our people there.

I will be glad to meet you, but soon I am going away to Kashmir for a week or ten days.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

156. To Subimal Dutt: Hostility to India in Tibet⁴⁰

I see that you have sent a telegram No. 3548 of July 9 to our Embassy in Peking about the difficulties we are facing in Tibet.⁴¹

2. I have now seen a telegram from Lhasa No. 338 of July 7, which reproduces an article in a Lhasa Tibetan daily.⁴² I think such articles are very objectionable apart from being untrue. I think we should protest about this both to the Chinese Ambassador in Delhi and to Peking.⁴³

3. The treatment that our people have been getting in Tibet has been bad, and it continues to be so. We should take up every such matter whenever it occurs and not allow it to become a habit.

157. To Subimal Dutt: Behaviour of Chinese Officials in Tibet⁴⁴

There is a bunch of telegrams today about Kashmiri Muslims, the stoppage of our works being carried on at Gyantse and other difficulties and obstructions placed by the Chinese authorities in Tibet.

2. I have also seen your telegram No. 3634 dated July 15 to Indembassy, Peking, on the question of nationality of Kashmiri Muslims and Lamas.

3. I have been wondering if we have done all we could in these matters. The impression created in my mind is that the Chinese authorities in Tibet are behaving very badly and are trying to squeeze out our people. Can we not

40. Note, Mashobra, 11 July 1959.

41. See MEA to the Indian Embassy, Peking, 9 July 1959, Appendix 25.

42. See Indian Consul-General, Lhasa, to MEA, 7 July 1959, Appendix 16.

43. See *White Paper*, p. 79.

44. Note, Mashobra, 18 July 1959.

present a stronger aide memoire putting all these things together and put it straight to them if their behaviour is meant to make the working of our consulates and trade agencies more and more difficult?⁴⁵ This, it might be said, raises the whole question of neutrality.

158. To B.C. Roy: Chinese Trade Agency in Kalimpong⁴⁶

22nd July, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

I understand that the Chinese governmental authorities are trying to purchase a big double storied house in Kalimpong. Normally speaking, we would have no objection to this. But our relations with the Chinese Government are not exactly normal and our own people in Tibet have been made to suffer a great deal of harassment by the authorities there. According to our Treaty with China, we are supposed to treat each other on the basis of mutuality. We have been given three Trade Agencies in Tibet and we have given them three such agencies in India, including Kalimpong and Calcutta.⁴⁷

We are taking these matters up with them rather strongly. In view of their treatment of Indians in Tibet and the difficulties they put in our way in regard to movement etc., I do not think they should be encouraged to acquire house property in Kalimpong. I would like you, therefore, to inform the District Magistrate there to prevent any such transaction taking place.

I have been told that there is no law authorising the District Magistrate to do this. I hardly think any law is necessary and normally a strong hint to the house owner should be adequate. If not, the house can be requisitioned by Government. Later, we may even think in terms of passing a legislation according to which no foreign government can acquire property in India without the permission of the Government of India.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

45. See note, the Ambassador of India to China [G. Parthasarathi] to the Chinese Foreign Office, 25 July 1959; *White Paper*, pp. 92-95.

46. Letter, copied to Subimal Dutt.

47. The Agreement between India and China on Trade and Intercourse between Tibet Region of China and India, signed in Peking on 29 April 1954, provided for the establishment of Indian Trade Agencies at Yatung, Gyantse and Gartok and Chinese Trade Agencies at New Delhi, Calcutta and Kalimpong.

159. To Subimal Dutt: The Dalai Lama⁴⁸

1. So far as a visit of the Dalai Lama to Delhi is concerned, we should inform him that we shall welcome this visit and I would be happy to meet him again.⁴⁹ Many of my colleagues would also be glad to meet him.

The question that we have to consider is the timing of such a visit. Early in August, the Lok Sabha will meet and a week later the Rajya Sabha also. That will be a terribly busy time for us. Parliament will be meeting after 2½ months and many problems have accumulated during this period. It would be better, therefore, if the Dalai Lama came to Delhi later after most of these problems have been dealt with and we have a little more leisure. I would suggest his coming to Delhi early in September. Parliament will still be meeting then and the Dalai Lama will have the opportunity to meet such people as he wishes to see.

Some kind of an informal enquiry might be made about the number of people who would accompany him to Delhi. That information will help us to make arrangements for his stay here as well as for the journey. If the number is small, the journey can take place by car; otherwise by train.

2. The question of the old treasure should surely be decided soon.⁵⁰ There is no complication about it and no further information is going to come to us from any source. If this is decided, then the other question of supplying funds to the Dalai Lama does not arise. If the treasure is to be handed over to him, it is for him to decide how and where to keep it. We might, however, advise him to keep it in a proper bank.

3. Sending religious emissaries to Buddhist countries. If a small number of such emissaries is to be sent and they have been invited by the other countries concerned, we need not raise any difficulties. We would have to give some kind of certificates of identity to serve as travel documents.

4. The question of maintaining contact with the Tibetan people stands on a different footing and we cannot in any sense be responsible for this, financially or otherwise.

48. Note, 22 July 1959.

49. Nehru had met the Dalai Lama in Mussoorie in April 1959.

50. For the previous reference to Dalai Lama's treasure lying in Sikkim, see Nehru's note to Subimal Dutt, 27 June 1959, and Dalai Lama to Nehru, 23 June 1959, SWJN/SS/49/item 312 and Appendix 26.

5. If any of the Dalai Lama's officers wishes to travel within India, they can certainly do so. If the Dalai Lama gets his principal funds, then no difficulty about expenses arises. Otherwise some money may be advanced for this purpose.

6. Youth Festival in Vienna.⁵¹ It is clear that we cannot send any of his representatives to this Youth Festival.

7. Tibetans to counter attack propaganda in Europe. A specific proposal might be considered, but it is not clear to me what kind of propaganda these people could do there.

160. To Dag Hammarskjöld: The Care of Tibetan Refugees⁵²

23rd July, 1959

Dear Mr. Hammarskjöld,⁵³

Thank you for your letter of July 7.⁵⁴ We appreciate Mr. Lindt's⁵⁵ offer of cooperation with us in dealing with the Tibetan refugees. I am glad to say, however, that we have been able to deal with the problem principally with our own resources. We have also received substantial assistance from an unofficial Central Committee⁵⁶ which has been set up in India. At the moment the refugees are being dispersed from camps and provided with gainful employment, and to that extent the problem of immediate relief is becoming easier.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

51. See item 120, fn 101.

52. Letter.

53. The UN Secretary General.

54. Endorsing Lindt's (the UN High Commissioner for Refugees) offer of help for Tibetan refugees, Hammarskjöld was careful to affirm his faith in GOI's ability to handle the problem on its own.

55. Auguste Rudolph Lindt (1905-2000); Swiss diplomatist; UN High Commissioner for Refugees, 1956-60; Swiss Ambassador to USA, 1960-63, to USSR and Mongolia, 1966-69, to India and Nepal, 1969-70. *The International Who's Who 1973-74* (London: Europa, 1973) and *Who Was Who 1996-2000* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 2001).

56. The Central Relief Committee for Tibetan refugees, presided over by J.B. Kripalani; the Indian Red Cross Society had associated itself with this committee.

161. To Subimal Dutt: Dalai Lama's Treasure⁵⁷

This matter appears to me to be relatively simple in spite of various issues that have been raised and considered.⁵⁸ So far as the Government of India are concerned, they hardly come into the picture except in so far as their permission may be necessary to get the treasure into India.

2. From such facts as are available, it appears to be clear that this treasure belongs to the Dalai Lama and was sent by him for safe custody. Arrangements were made for such safe custody in Sikkim. The Sikkim Government is not directly concerned except in so far as they provided room for storage without accepting any liability.

3. Presumably, therefore, the persons who stored this are entitled to take it back or they may authorise others to take it back. It appears that those who stored it have stated that the treasure belongs to the Dalai Lama. This point being cleared, preferably in writing, it is for the Dalai Lama to issue directions about the treasure. If he so wishes, it can be removed from where it is to any other place of his choice.

4. The Sikkim Government is concerned only because this treasure is in Sikkim. Otherwise, they have no concern with it. We may advise them as to what should be done with this on the lines suggested above.

5. If this matter is cleared with the Sikkim Durbar, then we should issue the necessary licence for the removal of the treasure to India and exempt it from the normal duty on bullion. That is all that we are called upon to do. But as the Dalai Lama and his associates are unacquainted with the way money is dealt with in India, we might well give him advice on the subject, so that the treasure might be kept in safe custody in some bank or an account opened, or whatever he likes to do with it. In future, it will not be right to keep this in godowns, etc.

57. Note, 24 July 1959.

58. See also item 159.

(c) Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

162. To MEA: Discussion with the Soviet Ambassador⁵⁹

The Soviet Ambassador⁶⁰ came to see me this morning. He said that he had been asked by his Government to inform me of the correspondence that had passed between Mr Khrushchev and President Nasser.⁶¹ In many of the facts that President Nasser had mentioned in his letters, there had been some distortion. Thereafter his letters were read out to me at great length. I tried to follow and to some extent succeeded in doing so but it was difficult for me to keep awake all the time.

2. The general impression created upon me was that inspite [sic] of arguments and some charges against each other, the situation between the two is not so bad as I had at one time thought. Most of these letters dealt with past history and the enunciation of general principles against colonialism etc.

3. Nasser wound up by saying that he sought stability in his relations with the USSR and that he highly valued the attitude of the USSR towards Egypt and sought their friendship. Mr Khrushchev in his replies said that he understood the difficulties which President Nasser had to face.

4. There was some reference to Nasser wanting medium-range rockets. To this the reply was that Egypt was a small country. The medium-range rockets have a range of 2,000 to 2,500 kilometers. These rockets, therefore, would not be of much use to Egypt. If necessity arose, they could be used from the Soviet Union.

5. In the course of one of his letters, Mr Khrushchev quoted a Russian proverb: "Don't foul the well; you may need its waters".

6. The Soviet Ambassador informed me that his Government had agreed to supply mechanized equipment for a workshop in Suratgarh Farm, costing about one million roubles.⁶² Also they are sending ten high bred sheep and some seeds of their best wheat and cotton.

7. The Soviet Government had also given to the Mysore Mother and Child's Welfare Organisation some gifts including one ambulance car and 200 child complexes, whatever that might mean.

59. Note to N.R. Pillai, Subimal Dutt and M.J. Desai, 5 July 1959.

60. Ivan Alexandrovich Benediktov assumed charge on 3 July 1959. *The Times of India*, 4 July 1959.

61. For further details, see Mohamed Heikal, *Nasser: The Cairo Documents* (London: New English Library, 1972).

62. See also Nehru to Ajit Prasad Jain, 5 July 1959, item 97.

163. To N.R. Pillai: Soviet Offer of Credit⁶³

[Paragraph No. 1] (1) We need not publish Mr. Khrushchev's letter.

(2) I do not see why we should be hustled in giving publicity to his offer. We cannot do so without previous reference to Moscow, and the reply will take some time.

(3) In view of what Mr. Khrushchev said to Sardar Swaran Singh,⁶⁴ it does not follow that his present offer is the final one for our Third Five Year Plan. Indeed we would be justified in thinking that it may be followed up by further help, but I entirely agree with you that we cannot give this meaning to it without the consent of the Soviet authorities. Further, we should not try to rush them on this issue.

(4) We have, of course, to accept the offer without going into any details. I do not know how far it is possible to reconsider the terms of repayment.

(5) I agree with you that a summary of B.K. Nehru's telegram might be sent to our Ambassador in Moscow.⁶⁵ Follow it up with the full telegram, which may be sent by airmail.

(6) Instead of our asking Shri K.P.S. Menon to prepare a text with the Russians for announcement, I think we should suggest the text which he can then clear with the Russians. This text might be on the following lines:-

"The Soviet Union has already agreed to give credits amounting to 500,000,000 roubles (Rs. 600,000,000/-) for the implementation of India's Third Five Year Plan. An additional offer has now been made of a fresh credit of 1500 million roubles (Rs. 1800 million) for the Third Five Year Plan period. Further discussions in regard to it will take place in the near future."

63. Note, 7 July 1959.

This note was written after the receipt of B.K. Nehru's telegram of 6 July on the Soviet offer of credit to India; B.K. Nehru of the Finance Ministry was then posted in Washington as India's Commissioner General for Economic Affairs. For the Soviet offer, see Khrushchev to Nehru, 15 June 1959, in SWJN/SS/49/Appendix 23. a. See also telegram from B.K. Nehru, 6 July 1959, Appendix 14.

64. Swaran Singh, Manubhai Shah and three officials belonging to the Department of Mines and Fuel, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and the Department of Iron and Steel visited USSR, 14-30 May 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, 12 August, 1959, cols 281-284.

65. K.P.S. Menon.

[Paragraph No. 2] This is not a very satisfactory draft, and I hope you will improve upon it.

[Paragraph No. 3] I do not think it is necessary to mention here the terms of repayment. K.P.S. Menon might try to find out informally if it is possible to vary those terms, and also if there are any possibilities of additional credits being given during the period of the Third Five Year Plan.

[Paragraph No. 4] I suggest that you might have a talk with me on this subject tomorrow before we finalise this matter.⁶⁶

164. To Kesho Ram: Gift for a Soviet Child⁶⁷

Please arrange to send some suitable gift for this little child.⁶⁸ It should, of course, be something typically Indian. This should be sent to our Ambassador in Moscow with the request that he will have it forwarded to the sender of the telegram with my good wishes.

2. I shall, of course, personally pay for this gift.⁶⁹

66. B.K. Nehru's telegram was sent to K.P.S. Menon; after exchanges of telegrams between K.P.S. Menon, B.K. Nehru and MEA, the draft of a press release on the Soviet offer of credit was finalized; see Appendices 14-15, 19-20, 26, 31, 39, 41-42 and 46. The Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, announced on 29 July that GOI had accepted the Soviet Union offer of a fresh credit of 1,500 million roubles (about Rs 180 crore) for the Third Five Year Plan.

67. Note, 7 July 1959. File No. 9/41/59-60-PMP.

68. Nehru had received a telegram dated 4 July 1959: "I request you and your wife to visit us on the occasion of the birthday of your two year old god-daughter Tanya on the 3rd August. Please intimate to me on the following: Goncharov Ignaty Semenowich, Lesnoe, Kalininskaya Oblast, USSR." File No. 9/41/59-60-PMP.

69. A toy elephant, skirt, and blouse were sent on 15 July to K.P.S. Menon, to be forwarded to the child for her birthday. File No. 9/41/59-60-PMP.

165. To K.D. Malaviya: Trade Relations with USSR⁷⁰

The Retreat,
Mashobra,
July 17, 1959

My dear Keshava,

I have your letter of July 14. The suggestion that we should make a big effort to develop trade relations with the U.S.S.R. has my entire agreement. I have said so previously, and I think that there is general agreement on this subject.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

166. To Subimal Dutt: K.M. Ashraf's Visit to East Germany⁷¹

I agree with F.S.⁷² We need not come in the way of Dr. Ashraf and his wife and niece going abroad. I take it there is no question of our supplying him with any foreign exchange or other funds.

2. I might mention that for some time past, I have been helping a son of Dr. Ashraf from a previous wife to get his education at the Muslim University at Aligarh. Dr. Ashraf had apparently lost all interest in him.⁷³

70. Letter. K.D. Malaviya Papers, NMML.

71. Note, 20 July 1959. File No. 21 (28)-Eur (W)/59, MEA.

72. Subimal Dutt approved granting a passport to K.M. Ashraf, Professor of History at Delhi University. He had been invited as a guest professor to Humboldt University for one year. Dutt noted that two years previously GOI had rejected him for the post of an Urdu teacher in Moscow, but now things had changed. S. Sen, JS, MEA, noted on 16 July that though Ashraf was "a communist by conviction," his trip would have no political significance and, since he had a foreign wife, he might find life a little easier there. File No. 21 (28)-Eur (W)/59, MEA.

73. Ashraf went to Berlin in 1960 as a Visiting Professor of Indian History at Humboldt University; he died in Berlin in 1962. Introduction by Jaweed Ashraf in K.M. Ashraf, *Hindu-Muslim Question and Our Freedom Struggle (1857-1935)*, Vol. I, (New Delhi: Sunrise, 2005), pp. xiv-xv.

167. To K.D. Malaviya: Soviet Credit⁷⁴

July 30, 1959

My dear Keshava,

Your letter of July 30.⁷⁵ As you have seen in the press, the Soviet Government have agreed to give a credit of Rs. 180 crores for the Third Plan.⁷⁶ This is very much less than we had hoped for and been led to expect. However, there it is.

You may certainly discuss the matter with the Planning Commission, but the real discussion is going to take place in Moscow some time next month when B.K. Nehru is supposed to go there.⁷⁷ I do not know if he will discuss the details of how to use this money. But there are many aspects which have to be discussed such as repayment in our own goods, etc.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(d) United States of America

168. To S. Nijalingappa: Foreign Leaders Programme of USA⁷⁸

6th July, 1959

My dear Nijalingappa,⁷⁹

Your letter of the 30th June about Shri P. Sivashankar, Principal of the Government Law College in Bangalore going to the United States. I think our Ministry of External Affairs has already written about this. We have been broadly opposed to the acceptance of these "Leadership grants"⁸⁰ by Government servants in India. I need not go into the reasons why we have disapproved of

74. Letter. K.D. Malaviya Papers, NMML. Also available in File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS and JN Collection.

75. See K.D. Malaviya to Nehru, 30 July 1959, Appendix 48.

76. See item 163, fn 66.

77. B.K. Nehru was sent to the USSR to negotiate an extension of Soviet credit for the Third Five Year Plan. He left for Moscow on 21 August 1959.

78. Letter.

79. Former Chief Minister of Mysore.

80. See SWJN/SS/44/p. 598.

these grants and the way they are administered. But if the Mysore Government feel that Shri Sivashankar's visit to the USA is desirable and in the public interest, we shall have no objection to his going there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

169. To MEA: Market Research on Tourism by a US Company⁸¹

The other day, a proposal came to us from the Ministry of Communications. This was for a survey of tourism by the American Market Research Company. The survey was to be organised by I.C.A.-T.C.M.⁸² It was proposed that two persons, namely, Mr. Kelly, Head of the Tourist Bureau and Mr. Henry Kearson, might come to India for this purpose. We would be responsible for the internal expenditure in India only for these two persons.

I did not understand this proposal and the idea of an American team coming here for market research connected with tourism. However, I have now discussed this matter with the Minister of Communications and with the Minister of Finance. We are agreeable to this team of two persons coming here for the purpose mentioned.

Probably the Minister of Communications will send back the papers to our Ministry. We may give our proposal [sic] to this proposal.

81. Note to N.R. Pillai and Subimal Dutt, 7 July 1959.

82. I.C.A., The International Cooperation Administration, established in 1955 under US State Department direction, coordinated foreign assistance operations and conducted non-military security programmes. T.C.M., The Technical Cooperation Mission, the field mission under the Technical Cooperation Administration, established within the US State Department for providing technical assistance to developing countries.

170. To Subimal Dutt: US Military Aid to Pakistan⁸³

I am sending you a letter from Mr. Bunker, U.S. Ambassador here.⁸⁴ A copy of this has been sent to the Defence Minister.

I think you might briefly acknowledge this letter with thanks.⁸⁵ We shall, of course, try to check up our previous information through Defence.⁸⁶

171. To M.C. Chagla: Proposal for an Indian Industrial Exhibition in USA⁸⁷

23rd July, 1959

My dear Chagla,

I have received two letters from you today, both dated 16th July. One is about the donation of some medical supplies for relief work. I shall have this acknowledged as soon as it arrives.

Your other letter puts forward a proposal for a big scale industrial exhibition in New York. The proposal is certainly an attractive one but I am not sure about its feasibility. Probably it will cost a great deal. To exhibit small Indian-made machines in New York will no doubt give some impression of what we were making. But they would have no opening or market there.

Anyhow I shall certainly have your proposal fully examined.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

83. Note, 7 July 1959. Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, Historical Division, *Notes, Memoranda and Decisions of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, September 1946-May 1964*, Vol. III, U.S. Military Assistance to Pakistan, January 1959-May 1964, p. 9.

84. See Ellsworth Bunker to Nehru, 29 June 1959, Appendix 8. Bunker was on leave to the United States at this time.

85. Acknowledging Bunker's letter, Subimal Dutt wrote to him on 9 July: "He [Nehru] is glad to know that the U.S. Government have not supplied and do not propose to supply any amphibious vehicles to Pakistan under the military assistance or any other aid programme."

86. See N.R. Pillai to M.C. Chagla, 27 July 1959, Appendix 45.

87. Letter.

(e) Nepal

172. To Subimal Dutt: Nepal's Relations with Israel and Yugoslavia⁸⁸

I agree with what you say, but the desire of the present Nepal Government to have diplomatic relations with Israel is strong. As has been pointed out in our Ambassador's⁸⁹ letter, Prime Minister B.P. Koirala has spent some time in Israel and developed many contacts there.

2. Our advice should, therefore, be that it would be good to have diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia. As for Israel, there are not so many advantages in having these relations as the disadvantage of irritating the Arab countries. Perhaps to begin with there might be an exchange of cultural and economic representatives with Israel. Anyhow, it is entirely for the Nepal Government to decide⁹⁰ realising that any step towards Israel means a step away from the Arab countries.

(f) Middle East

173. To Humayun Kabir: Invitation from UAR⁹¹

July 2, 1959

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of July 2nd about the invitation from the United Arab Republic.⁹² I do not think we can be hustled into accepting invitations in this way. You can ask Shrimali and Keskar if they can find it convenient to go.

I am returning to you the invitation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

88. Note, 24 July 1959.

89. Bhagwan Sahay.

90. Nepal established diplomatic relations with Israel on 1 June 1960.

91. Letter. Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.

92. For the celebration of the seventh anniversary of the Egyptian revolution of 23 July.

174. To Subimal Dutt: An Arab League Office in New Delhi⁹³

I agree with what you have said in paragraph 4 of your note.⁹⁴ That is, we are prepared to permit the opening of an Arab League office here on the broad conditions you have mentioned in your note.

2. You might inform our Ambassador in Cairo that, generally speaking, what he has said about our attitude to Israel vis-a-vis the Arab countries is correct,⁹⁵ but quite apart from political and like considerations, there is a good deal of interest in India in the development of the Cooperative Movement in Israel and, more especially, in cooperative farming. We ourselves are laying the greatest stress on cooperation in India, especially in our rural areas. We are, therefore, naturally interested in such experiments in other countries. Delegations from India have studied them in European countries and in China.⁹⁶ This has been done regardless of our political differences with those countries. It is possible, therefore, that some people may be sent from India to Israel to study the cooperative movement in rural areas.⁹⁷

3. You might also add that one of our Opposition Parties, namely the Praja Socialist Party, has some relations with Israel because they have met Israel representatives at various international socialist conferences.

93. Note, 31 July 1959.

94. See Subimal Dutt's note, 31 July 1959, Appendix 49.

95. See R.K. Nehru, Ambassador to the United Arab Republic, to Subimal Dutt, 12 July 1959, Appendix 28.

96. A delegation led by Mahavir Prasad, the Irrigation Adviser to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, visited China during January-February 1959 for the study of irrigation and conservancy projects.

97. See Nehru's note to Subimal Dutt, 1 July 1959, and Nehru to S.K. Dey, 2 July 1959; items 96 and 88 respectively.

(g) Africa

175. To Ahmadou Ahidjo: Independence for the Cameroons⁹⁸

July 6, 1959

Excellency,⁹⁹

Your letter of April 24, 1959, came to me only a few days ago. I am deeply grateful to you for the kind sentiments you have expressed in your letter for the part played by the Indian Delegation during the discussion on the problem of the Cameroons at the United Nations.¹⁰⁰

We are naturally pleased that the Cameroons will achieve its independence early in 1960. The precise arrangements for the termination of the French Trusteeship on the Cameroons were both difficult and delicate to determine. Several factors had to be taken into account but our supreme consideration was that any solution found in the United Nations must make sure that the independence of Cameroons would not be delayed even by a day. I am glad that this attitude has been appreciated both in the United Nations and in Cameroons itself. May I take this opportunity to express to you my earnest hope and belief that independent Cameroons will have a peaceful and prosperous future and its leaders will guide it to take its honourable and deserved place in the comity of nations. On our part, we shall always have the friendliest sentiments towards the Cameroons and do our utmost to build up healthy and fruitful cooperation between our two countries.

Please accept, Excellency, assurances of my highest and most distinguished consideration.

Jawaharlal Nehru

98. Letter.

99. Ahmadou Babatoura Ahidjo (1924-1989); Prime Minister of Cameroon, 1958-1960; President, 1960-82

100. On 19 October 1958, France had recognized the right of her UN trust territory of the Cameroons to choose independence; on 24 October 1958, the Cameroon Legislative Assembly opted for full independence as from 1 January 1960. In the UN General Assembly on 16 February 1959, C.S. Jha speaking recommended ending the Trusteeship Agreement with France on Cameroon becoming independent; and on 13 March 1959, the General Assembly resolved that the Trusteeship Agreement would end with independence on 1 January 1960.

(h) Other Countries

176. To MEA: Talks with the Australian Prime Minister¹⁰¹

I have had two long talks with the Prime Minister of Australia.¹⁰² On the first day, we talked chiefly about the European situation, that is, mostly about the recent Foreign Ministers' Conference in Geneva and the German question. Mr. Menzies had met recently not only the Prime Minister of the U.K., but also General de Gaulle¹⁰³ and Mr. Adenauer.¹⁰⁴ His broad attitude was in line with the British attitude. He said that every effort should be made at this Foreign Ministers' Conference to move some steps forward and that a Summit Conference was desirable. Nothing much could be got out of the Foreign Ministers who function rigidly and in too public a manner. In fact, there was no alternative way open. If these conferences broke down without achieving anything, there would be a deadlock somewhat in favour of the Russians because they held many of the cards in regard to Berlin etc. The situation would deteriorate and there was always a risk of the possibility of war which must be avoided at all costs.

2. Today he asked me to tell him about the developments in China and Tibet. I did so at some length, giving him the story of what had happened in Tibet and my previous conversations with Premier Chou En-lai etc. I also spoke about the problem of the Tibetan refugees in India.

3. Mr. Menzies said that he was clear that it was not desirable to take this question of Tibet up in the United Nations. That would do no good and only add to bitterness all round.

4. He then asked me about the Canal Waters question, mentioning that he was particularly interested in this because Australia was prepared to contribute handsomely. I told him that we would be glad to settle this matter fully. It was with a view to this that we had agreed to pay a much larger sum than we had expected or intended.¹⁰⁵ There was, however, one hurdle in the way still. I referred to the Mangla Dam and the reservoir which would cover a good bit of territory in Jammu & Kashmir State which was at present in the occupation of

101. Note to N.R. Pillai, Subimal Dutt and M.J. Desai, 4 July 1959.

102. Robert Gordon Menzies, the Prime Minister of Australia, 1949-66, arrived in New Delhi on 3 July 1959.

103. Charles de Gaulle, the President of France.

104. Konrad Adenauer, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

105. According to N.D. Gulhati, *Indus Waters Treaty*, p. 261, India's financial contribution towards the replacement works in Pakistan would be \$175 million in cash, payable in annual instalments.

the Pakistan authorities. We considered this Pakistan occupation illegal and we did not want anything to be done there which came in the way of our legal and constitutional rights.

5. I asked Mr. Menzies how they would contribute to this fund. He said that they would naturally prefer to contribute partly in kind, that is, in equipment etc. But for his part he was prepared to contribute the entire sum in cash in the course of the next ten years or so. He mentioned that this matter would be no doubt discussed with India and Pakistan and the World Bank. I told him that India had nothing to do with this as it was entirely a World Bank matter and the money would go to Pakistan. He expressed the hope that this question would be finally settled soon.

6. No mention was made in our conversations of Kashmir, nor was there any reference to the controversy going on about airlines.¹⁰⁶

177. To Subimal Dutt: Tenth Anniversary of GDR¹⁰⁷

I take it that the separate invitations for the Vice-President, the Speaker and the Parliamentary Delegation and Shrimati Indira Gandhi have been forwarded to these people.¹⁰⁸ I gathered from the Deputy Speaker today that the East German Trade Representative¹⁰⁹ had approached him also and asked him that the Parliamentary Delegation now in Europe might visit East Germany. I told the Deputy Speaker that in any event it would be difficult to change the programme of this Delegation at this stage. That would upset all their arrangements. Apart

106. Speaking to the Press on 5 July, before leaving for Australia, Menzies said about his talks with Nehru: "I never enjoyed anything more than this. Of course, your Prime Minister and I are old colleagues. We happen to be the senior Prime Ministers in the Commonwealth and so we have seen a great deal of each other. I have never had more enjoyable talks in my life than I have had with him. We have talked on a variety of topics and I have learnt more than he had, because he knows more than I do." In Canberra on 9 July, he said: "I was tremendously impressed with Mr. Nehru and his grip of world affairs. He was extremely frank and, for me, threw light on some dark places. I learnt of the Tibetan problems and Mr. Nehru's own problems at home. He has many, of course, like all of us. He had a few exchanges with Communist China on various matters but of course I am not at liberty to repeat them." *The Hindu*, 6 and 10 July 1959.

107. Note, 4 July 1959.

108. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, the Speaker, led a delegation to Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Poland in July 1959. The tenth anniversary of the GDR was 7 October 1959.

109. Erich Renneisen.

from this, for other reasons also, it was not desirable for the Delegation to visit East Germany at this juncture. The Deputy Speaker will inform the East German Trade Representative accordingly.

2. I think that you might inform the East German Trade Representative about this matter of the Parliamentary Delegation. Also that there is no chance of the Vice-President going there. He has just left today for a concentrated tour of three or four weeks,¹¹⁰ and he has to come back in time for the opening of Parliament. Therefore, it will not be possible for him to go. As for Shrimati Indira Gandhi, I have not talked to her, but I am sure that it will not be possible for her to go. As you know, she had decided to go to South America and had to give up this visit because she cannot leave India on account of her many pre-occupations. She was also invited to Cairo¹¹¹ and she could not go. All this might be explained to the East German Trade Representative.

3. As for the Defence Minister, I had given a vague reply to the East German Prime Minister when he spoke to me about him.¹¹² I have not ruled out the possibility of his visit, but it is difficult for him, I take it, to promise to go there on a particular date as suggested. Apart from the developments in India which make it rather difficult for Ministers to go abroad, there is the possibility of his having to go to the United Nations about that time.¹¹³ If a possibility occurs later, the Defence Minister will, no doubt, consider it.

4. The East German Representative might be informed accordingly. The Defence Minister should also be informed of this invitation and the rather vague reply you have given at my instance.

5. So far as the letter from Mr. Grotewohl to me is concerned, I think I should answer it myself, on the lines indicated above.¹¹⁴

110. S. Radhakrishnan left Delhi on 4 July on a tour of the Philippines, Hawaii, the USA and West Germany. *The Times of India*, 5 July 1959.

111. See item 173, fn 92.

112. Perhaps in January 1959 when Otto Grotewohl, the East German Prime Minister, visited India.

113. For the 14th session of the UN General Assembly beginning 15 September.

114. See Nehru to Otto Grotewohl, 21 July 1959, item 180.

178. To B.N. Chakravarty: Army Agreement with Indonesia¹¹⁵

In view of the special circumstances I agree in principle.¹¹⁶ I take it that this means our supplying the products of our ordnance factories &c.¹¹⁷

179. To MEA: Letter from Che Guevara¹¹⁸

Please see the attached letter from the Cuban Delegation.¹¹⁹ I do not know what we can reply to them. You might find out what we can do about this matter. In any event, we should convey our thanks to the Delegation.

180. To Otto Grotewohl: Tenth Anniversary of GDR¹²⁰

21st July, 1959

Excellency,

Thank you for your letter of 7th June which reached me on 3rd July. I regret I could not reply to it earlier because of my frequent absence from Delhi.

It is kind of you to have renewed the invitation to our Defence Minister Shri Krishna Menon to visit Germany on the occasion of the 10th Anniversary of the formation of the German Democratic Republic. Unfortunately, Shri

115. Handwritten note to Special Secretary, MEA, 8 July 1959. File No. 3400 (8)-SD/59, MEA.

116. The Government of Indonesia wanted an agreement with India for cooperation between their armies. Indonesia proposed that training and equipment supplied by GOI up to five million Indian rupees would be treated as a loan to Indonesia, as in the Air and Naval agreements of 1956 and 1958 respectively with that country. The Indian Embassy was keen on an urgent decision, lest Indonesia turn to other states. Krishna Menon's note of 6 July approved, but found it "unreasonable" that the Defence Budget should bear the expenditure. File No. 3400 (8)-SD/59, MEA.

117. An agreement was signed in Jakarta on 8 June 1960.

118. Note to N.R. Pillai and Subimal Dutt, 17 July 1959. File No. 21(3)-AMS/59, MEA.

119. See Ernesto Guevara (Che Guevara) to Nehru, 12 July 1959, Appendix 29.

A six-member delegation from Cuba led by Major Ernesto Guevara arrived in New Delhi on 30 June 1959 on a goodwill mission to India; it met Nehru the next day. The delegation was in the country for two weeks. *The Hindustan Times*, 2 July 1959.

120. Letter.

Krishna Menon is at the moment deeply engaged in his current work and it may not be possible for him to leave India in the near future. We have not yet decided the composition of a delegation to the next session of the General Assembly but, as you may know, in the past few years he has led our delegation to the Assembly sessions. Therefore there is a possibility that he might be in New York in October when the 10th Anniversary of the establishment of the German Democratic Republic will be celebrated. If an opportunity offers later, the Defence Minister will no doubt consider it.

We are following, with the greatest of interest, the talks that are now taking place in Geneva on the future arrangements regarding Berlin. We hope that these talks will succeed for we have always taken the view that progress even in small matters is of great value in reducing current tension and misunderstandings. Any measure calculated to bring about international peace and solidarity will have our full support. I was, therefore, very glad to have the opportunity of free exchange of views with you about the possibilities of settling international issues by peaceful negotiations.

Please accept, Excellency, the expression of my highest consideration,

Jawaharlal Nehru

181. To Jan Eduard de Quay: The Fokker Friendship Aircraft¹²¹

July 30, 1959

Excellency,¹²²

I was glad to receive your letter of July 6, the text of which had been given to me already by your Chargé d' Affaires in New Delhi.

The problem of replacement of the Dakotas in the Indian Air Force has been subjected to a most detailed scrutiny and discussion at the highest level. We fully recognise the high quality and merits of the Fokker Friendship aircraft¹²³ but, after giving full consideration to the various requirements of our Defence

121. Letter, copied to J.M.A.H. Luns, the Foreign Minister of the Netherlands, who had forwarded Quay's letter to Nehru. On 30 July 1959, Nehru also wrote to Luns conveying the gist of his letter to Quay.

122. Jan Eduard de Quay (1901-1985); Prime Minister of the Netherlands, May 1959-July 1963.

123. For previous references, see SWJN/SS/40/pp. 142-143 and SWJN/SS/44/pp. 634-635.

Services, we have decided in favour of the Avro-748 for our Defence transport purposes.¹²⁴ This was not an easy decision to take, as the offers received had to be examined from many different angles.

The question of the choice of an aircraft to replace the Dakotas of the Indian Airlines Corporation is still under consideration. In response to your letter, we have asked our Civil Aviation Department as also the Indian Airlines Corporation to consider the proposals made by Messrs. Fokker Aircraft Ltd. Both for purposes of immediate replacement and for the manufacture, in cooperation with the Company, of civil transport aircraft in India.

I am confident that both the Civil Aviation Department and the Indian Airlines Corporation will give sympathetic consideration to these proposals. Decisions on these matters always take a little time, but I have no doubt that representatives of Messrs. Fokker Aircraft will maintain touch with the Indian authorities concerned and furnish to them all information they may require. We are aware of the high international reputation enjoyed by your country's products and services, and you may be assured that the merits of the offer made by Messrs. Fokker Aircraft will receive a full and fair examination at the hands of the competent authorities here.¹²⁵

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration,

Jawaharlal Nehru

124. V.K. Krishna Menon stated in reply to a question in the Lok Sabha on 10 August 1959 that an agreement had been signed with M/s Hawker Siddley Group of the UK for the manufacture of Avro-748 in India to replace the Dakotas in the Indian Air Force. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, cols 1347-1357.
125. Ahmed Mohiuddin informed the Rajya Sabha on 11 August 1959 that the proposal of the Indian Airlines Corporation (IAC) to buy five Fokker Friendship aircraft during the Second Plan period to meet their interim requirements was under consideration; no decision had yet been taken regarding the type of aircraft to replace the IAC's Dakota fleet which consisted of 58 aircraft. S.K. Patil told the House the same day that the Fokker Friendship was "the best and the only plane available now" as a medium-sized aircraft. *The Statesman*, 12 August 1959.

(i) General

182. To R. Velayudhan: Indian Business Community in South East Asia¹²⁶

July 1, 1959

My dear Velayudhan,¹²⁷

Thank you for your letter of the 30th June with which you have sent a report on your tour to some South East Asian countries. Your report is very useful and I am having all the points mentioned in it examined.

There is one broad question, however, to which you have referred. This is about the increasing difficulties for Indian businessmen and others in these countries, especially those that have attained independence. Some of these difficulties are inevitable and I doubt if we can do much about them. Every country, including India, as soon as it attains independence, tries to protect its nationals and does not give the same facilities to non-nationals. We cannot object to this. There is the question of employment and business.

Our advice to Indians abroad has been that they are free to seek the nationality of the country they live in and thus obtain privileges of nationals. That is what we are trying to do in Ceylon.

If these people want to retain their Indian nationality, then all their complaint is equal treatment with other non-nationals in that country. We cannot ask for equal treatment with nationals. Of course, they can remain Indian nationals and yet have an honoured place in the other country. That will depend on how far they can get on with the people there and mix with them.

Unfortunately, because of our social customs, Indians do not mix easily with other people. They remain apart. Indeed, they do not even remain as part of Indians, but as Punjabees, Tamils, Malayalees, Gujaratees, Bengalees and the like. This is a serious drawback for our people.

There is another difficulty which sometimes occurs. Some of our Indian businessmen get a reputation of not caring at all for the countries they live in and even get the reputation, even when it is not deserved, of exploiting that country to their own advantage. This has been the normal feature of all businessmen, but the local businessmen pass as nationals while the other persons become the target of criticism.

126. Letter, copied to N.R. Pillai and Subimal Dutt, together with Velayudhan's letter and report.

127. A resident of 52/23, Western Extension Area, New Delhi.

I think that there is plenty of room for Indian businessmen and others in these countries provided they mix more with the people there and become a part of the life of the larger community.

You say that the Government of India should give special assistance to those Indian businessmen who come back to India. That is a very large issue and I do not think any Government can undertake this responsibility. In special cases, such assistance may be given. Most of these businessmen have made large profits in the past. They undertook the risk and it is hardly fair to put the burden of their starting afresh on the Government of India.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

183. To S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike: Asian-African Conference on Economic Matters¹²⁸

July 4, 1959

My dear Prime Minister,

I received your letter of the 13th June a week ago.¹²⁹ I have consulted my colleagues about the suggestions you have made in this letter and we have naturally given them our full consideration. I give below my reactions to the proposals you have made.

(1) I agree with you that it is not necessary to arrange a preliminary meeting of the Colombo Countries' Prime Ministers¹³⁰ to consider the various details of the proposed conference. We might decide these matters by correspondence.

(2) Agenda. I agree that we might agree generally to the agenda suggested by the officials.¹³¹

128. Letter.

129. Bandaranaike's letter of 7 April 1958 had proposed a conference of Asian-African countries on economic cooperation; see SWJN/SS/42/pp. 704-706 for Nehru's reply. See also SWJN/SS/49/item 329.

130. India, Ceylon, Burma, Pakistan and Indonesia were known as the Colombo Countries or Powers because their Prime Ministers had first met at Colombo in April-May 1954 and agreed to stay in regular touch.

131. A preliminary conference of officials of the Colombo Countries, except Burma, held in Colombo from 25 to 28 May 1959 had drawn up a provisional agenda for the proposed conference.

(3) We agree to the conference being held in Ceylon. We shall be happy to go there for this conference.

(4) I agree that an advance secretariat might be constituted in Colombo. We shall try to help in so far as we can in the work of the secretariat.

(5) Finance. We are agreeable to your proposal that the participating countries should share in the expenses of the conference. It is possible that all the countries may not accept this proposal or some might not be in a position to contribute much. Anyhow, the proposal is good and we agree with it.

(6) Date of Conference. So far as we are concerned, we are agreeable to the conference being held towards the end of December. But I am not sure if this date would be suitable to a number of other countries. It may not give them enough time for preparation. If another date has to be fixed, I am afraid I am not free in January, February and the first half of March. The only other date I can suggest is the latter half of March or April 1960. If the conference is to be fruitful, all the participating countries should be invited to submit papers for the consideration of the conference and they will no doubt require time for this.

(7) Who are to be invited? This raises difficult problems. The old invitees to the Bandung Conference¹³² should, of course, be invited again. I agree that Malaya and Singapore should also be invited. For the moment, I would suggest that no other countries might be invited. This question might be considered a little later.

As for Israel, for my part, I have no objection to an invitation, but we all know that such an invitation would be objected to very strongly by the Arab countries. It might even lead to the Arab countries refusing to participate in the conference. Because of this, I am inclined to agree with you that Israel should not be invited.

As for Australia and New Zealand, there was a suggestion at the time of the Bandung Conference that they should be invited in the future. I am not quite clear in my mind as to what we should do now about this. We might consider this a little further. Perhaps they might be asked to send observers. The same rule might apply to the Asian Republics¹³³ of the Soviet Union, that is, at the most, they should be asked to send observers.

There is also the question of Nigeria and the Cameroons who are likely to attain independence in 1960. Also Guinea.

132. The Asian-African Conference held in Bandung, Indonesia, 18-24 April 1955. Twenty-nine countries took part.

133. The Central Asian Republics.

We must remember that the bigger the conference, the more difficult it is to function. It becomes too amorphous and there is no cohesive element about it. On the whole, I would be inclined not to add to it and invite only the countries which inevitably must be invited. From this point of view, I would leave out Israel, Australia, New Zealand and Asian Republics of the Soviet Union. Perhaps this matter might be considered later.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

184. To Nichidatsu Fujii: Peace Stupa in Hiroshima¹³⁴

I am glad to know that a memorial stupa is being constructed in Hiroshima City as a symbol of world peace.¹³⁵ It is peculiarly fitting that this stupa should be put up in Hiroshima on the anniversary of the day the first Atomic Bomb fell there. I send my greetings on this occasion and my earnest hopes and wishes for the establishment of peace all over the world.

134. Message, dated 8 July 1959, to Nichidatsu Fujii. File No. 9/2/59-PMP, Vol. V. Also available in JN Collection. The message was sent through Mahesh Kothari, a disciple of Vinoba Bhave.

Nichidatsu Fujii (1885-1985); Japanese Buddhist monk and founder of the Nipponzan Myohoji Buddhist order; visited India several times and met Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru; Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding, 1978. For details see *Buddhism for World Peace: Words of Nichidatsu Fujii*, edited and translated by Yumiko Miyazaki (Tokyo; Japan-Bharat Sarvodaya Mitra Sangh, 1980).

135. Nichidatsu Fujii wrote to Nehru on 28 June 1959 that it was proposed "to offer prayer to the Vishwa Shanti Stupa," the memorial stupa – or peace pagoda – which was being constructed in Hiroshima; thereafter pilgrimages were to be made to other peace pagodas in Japan. He requested a message from Nehru on the occasion. File No. 9/2/59-PMP, Vol. V.

185. To Kalika Singh: The World Council of Peace¹³⁶

The Retreat,
Mashobra,
July 15, 1959

Dear Kalika Singh ji,¹³⁷

I received yesterday your letter of the 9th July about the circular letter issued by Diwan Chaman Lall.

I do not remember having seen this circular letter before. There is nothing in it to which we can object. But I doubt if it is worthwhile issuing such an appeal in this form at this stage.¹³⁸ Although the World Council of Peace has many people in it who are not aligned to any military bloc, nevertheless it is, to some extent, connected with the countries of one military grouping. Therefore, any appeal on its behalf has only a partial significance, and has little effect on others.

However, I do not wish to come in the way of any MPs who may have signed this appeal or sent it. It is not opposed to what we say; only it seems rather inappropriate.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

136. Letter; copy sent to Subimal Dutt, together with the letter under reply.

137. Kalika Singh (1911-1976); lawyer; member, Youth League, Allahabad, 1928-31; President, Eastern UP Students' Federation; led students' agitation in 1942; Member, UPCC, 1946-57; Member, UP Legislative Assembly, 1952-56; Lok Sabha MP from Azamgarh, UP, 1957-62.

138. The circular letter issued by Chaman Lall has not been traced. He had earlier sent Nehru an account of the tenth anniversary session of the World Council of Peace; see item 155.

186. To Diwan Chaman Lall: Holding a Seminar on Foreign Policy¹³⁹

July 31, 1959

My dear Chaman Lall,

Your letter of July 31st suggesting the holding of a seminar to discuss questions of foreign policy. It is not quite clear to me what the necessity is for holding such a seminar in the near future. Many of the subjects mentioned are of great complexity and of conflict between the Great Powers, such as the German question. Nearly all the subjects would require very carefully written papers, and not just casual, rather propagandist stuff. I am not myself sure of what I would say, from a practical and feasible point of view, in regard to some of the matters referred to.

Take again Goa. Simple as this is, at the same time, it is extraordinarily complex, that is, from the point of view of what policy we should follow. It is easy enough to say that the Portuguese should quit.

I have a feeling that if any such subjects are discussed, they would require long and very careful preparation if the discussions are to be of any value. Who is supposed to convene this seminar or convention? Who will organise it? Also, I rather doubt if it is right for the Chairman and Speaker to participate in a seminar dealing with these controversial problems. Indeed, I am not clear at all as to whether I should participate.

I am pointing out to you some of the questions that arise in my mind.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

139. Letter.

V. MISCELLANEOUS

187. To J.R. Wiggins: Invitation from the American Society of Newspaper Editors¹

July 5, 1959

Dear Mr. Wiggins,²

Our Ambassador in Washington has forwarded your letter of June 15th³ to me. I thank you for it. I need not tell you how much I appreciate the honour you have done me in inviting me to deliver the principal address at the annual meeting of your Society on April 23rd next year.⁴ It may perhaps surprise you to learn that I do not fancy myself as a speaker although I have to function on the public stage fairly often. But I would indeed welcome the opportunity of meeting the leading editors of the United States and discussing various matters of common interest with them. It would also be a pleasure to me to visit the United States again.

But I am faced with a difficulty which I am sure you will appreciate. It is never very easy for me to leave India because of the burden of work and responsibility that I have to carry here. I feel that I can serve even the larger causes we have at heart by trying to do, as adequately as I can, my job here. I realise that it is certainly desirable to develop contacts in other countries and more especially in the United States. That is why I have always welcomed the idea of going to America.

I am not prophet enough to be able to say what the position will be next year and whether I shall be able to leave India then even for a short while. The time you have mentioned, that is, April next, is a peculiarly difficult one. We shall then be meeting in our Budget Session and I am supposed to be present in Parliament from day to day. We are also now deeply involved in drawing up our next Five Year Plan which raises important questions of policy. As Chairman of the Planning Commission, I have to give a good deal of time to it. I need not

1. Letter.
2. James Russell Wiggins (1903-2000); American newspaperman; Editorial Writer, *St. Paul Dispatch* and *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, 1930-33, Washington Correspondent, 1933-38, Managing Editor, 1938-42, 1945-46; US Army Air Force, 1942-45; Assistant Publisher, *New York Times*, 1946-47; Managing Editor, *The Washington Post*, 1947-55, Vice-President, 1953-60, Executive Editor, 1955-60, Editor and executive Vice-President, 1960-68; Permanent Representative to UN, 1968-69; Editor, Publisher, *Ellsworth American*, 1969-91. *International Who's Who 2000*.
3. See M.C. Chagla to Nehru, 29 June 1959, Appendix 7.
4. Wiggins was the President, American Society of Newspaper Editors.

mention the other intricate problems that we face today and which are likely to continue.

In these circumstances, it is quite beyond my power to indicate that I might be able to visit the United States in response to your very kind invitation. I trust you will understand my position and my difficulties.

May I say how much I have profited by reading the editorials of the Washington Post.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

188. To M.C. Chagla: Invitation from the American Society of Newspaper Editors⁵

July 5, 1959

My dear Chagla,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th June with which you have sent an invitation to me from the American Society of Newspaper Editors to attend a Banquet and deliver an address on April 23, 1960.⁶ I appreciate this invitation and fully realise the importance of this Society of Journalists as well as the occasion. I would indeed like to meet them, but what am I to do? Apart from the difficulty of my crossing various seas and oceans and going to the United States for this function, which is difficult enough, the time indicated is probably the most difficult one for me to leave India. We shall be in the middle of our Budget Session then. Apart from the Budget, and the next Budget is going to be very important, we have a number of very difficult problems to face. I do not know what the position will be in India then, but I think I can say with some assurance that it will not be an easy one, whatever happens.

I do not see how I can leave India on that occasion. I am sorry that there is no help for it.

5. Letter.

6. See M.C. Chagla to Nehru, 29 June 1959, Appendix 7.

I am enclosing letters for Mr. Wiggins and Mr. Norman E. Isaacs.⁷ Please have them delivered to them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

189. To Dorothy Norman: *Nehru: The First Sixty Years*⁸

July 6, 1959

My dear Dorothy,

I have just received your letter of June 30. Mathai⁹ is not here. I believe he is somewhere in Europe at present.

I have read your letter and the alternative drafts.¹⁰ You can certainly add any words in it to protect the publisher which you consider necessary. I do not want to deprive Walsh¹¹ of his rightful dues.

I suppose you will now go ahead with this "Anthology".

Normally about this time of the year I am at a low ebb. Partly I suppose it is the heat. Somehow things move towards various crises during Summer time here. Why exactly that happens I do not know. Anyhow, I have had a heavy time. I thought of going for a week to Kashmir. Just after I had made the necessary arrangements, the rains descended upon the valley, and the whole place is now flooded, and the city of Srinagar is in some danger. So I have had to give that up. Still I intend going for a week or ten days to a place a little beyond Simla.¹²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Norman E. Isaacs, Managing Editor of *The Louisville Times* and Programme Chairman of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, had written to Nehru on 22 June 1959, supporting the invitation from Wiggins. Nehru's letter to Isaacs was on the same lines as his letter to Wiggins.

8. Letter.

9. M.O. Mathai had gone to Moscow; after that he intended going to Switzerland and London. See SWJN/SS/49/p. 642.

10. Dorothy Norman, an American civil rights advocate, writer and photographer, was at this time working on an anthology of Nehru's writings and speeches; it was published under the title *Nehru: The First Sixty Years* (New York: John Day, 1965) in two volumes. Nehru wrote a foreword for it on 23 March 1964.

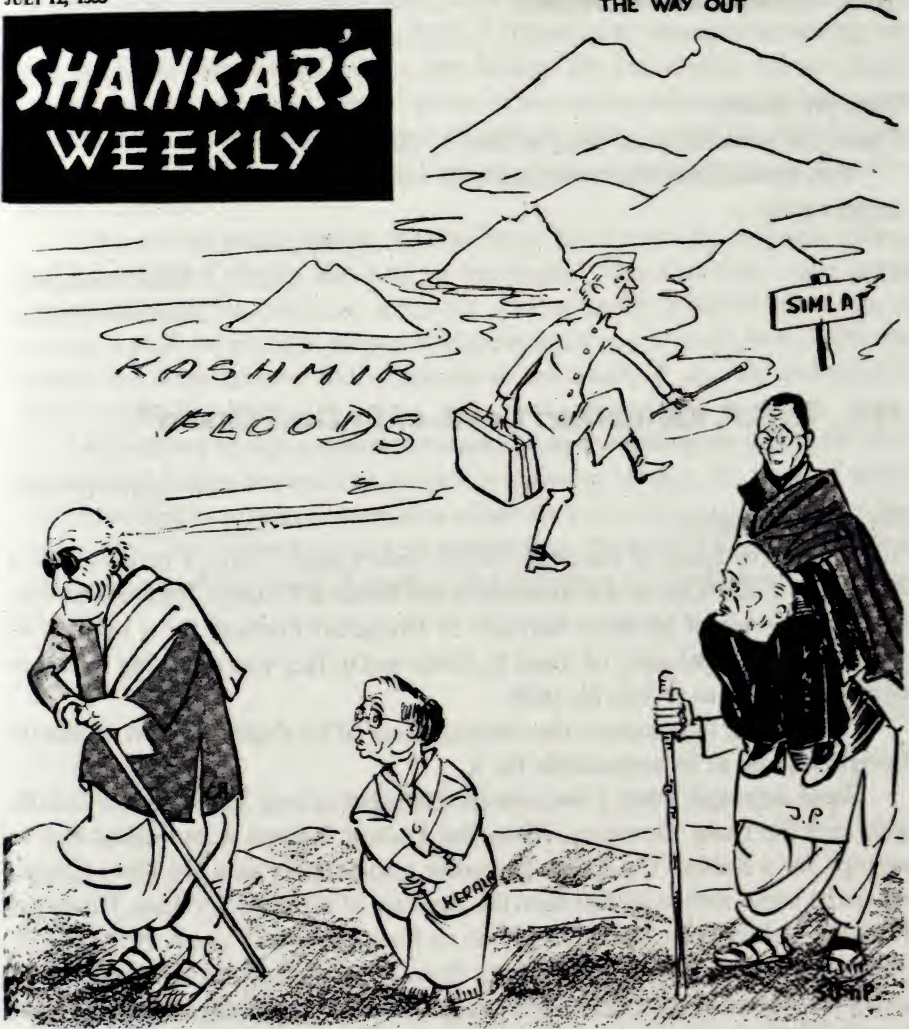
11. Richard J. Walsh was the President of the John Day Company which published several books of Nehru.

12. Nehru went to Mashobra.

JULY 12, 1959

SHANKAR'S WEEKLY

THE WAY OUT



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 12 JULY 1959)

190. To Richard J. Walsh¹³

July 6, 1959

Dear Mr. Walsh,

I have just received your letter of July 1. Thank you for it.

I am agreeable to the royalty terms as well as other matters that you suggest in your letter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

191. To D.P. Karmarkar: Death of Dr Devi Chand¹⁴

July 20, 1959

My dear Karmarkar,

You must have heard of the death of Dr. Devi Chand¹⁵ who, I believe, was a Professor of Medicine in the Maulana Azad Medical College. Previous to that, he was Director of Medical Services in Himachal Pradesh for a number of years. I think he had gone on leave to Simla and in fact was returning in two or three days' time to re-join his post.

I am writing to you about the circumstances of his death and how indirectly I might be said to be responsible for it.

Some days ago, when I was unwell at Mashobra near Simla, Indira Gandhi informed the Lieut. Governor, Himachal Pradesh¹⁶ about it and asked him to arrange for a doctor. The Lieut. Governor immediately sent Dr. Devi Chand, whom he knew well as he had been the Director of Medical Services, Himachal Pradesh. Although Dr. Devi Chand was on leave, he gladly came. He took a lot of trouble for me, coming a fairly long distance from Simla to Mashobra twice a day on certain days. I felt much obliged to him. Yesterday, when we were leaving Mashobra by car, he accompanied me in case of need during the journey.

13. Letter. Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund Papers, NMML.

This probably refers to the abridged edition of *Glimpses of World History*, published as *Nehru on World History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1962), see SWJN/SS/49, item 359.

14. Letter.

15. Dr Devi Chand Gupta.

16. Bajrang Bahadur Singh Bhadri.

In fact, there was some slight need, and his presence was helpful. After we reached Kalka, I suggested to the Raja of Bhadri, who was accompanying me, that Dr. Devi Chand need not go any further. He had already taken enough trouble for me, and there was no point in his accompanying us further up to Chandigarh. He induced Dr. Devi Chand to return to Simla. The Deputy Commissioner of Mahasu District,¹⁷ who had been accompanying us, was also asked to return.

It was on this return journey that Dr. Devi Chand met with his fatal accident, and I have been deeply shocked by his death.¹⁸ The fact that it was partly connected with his desire to serve me, has naturally added to my sense of sorrow. I shall be grateful to you if you could have conveyed to his wife and family my deep sorrow and sympathy at the death of an able and devoted doctor and a fine man.

I am writing to you especially because someone said to me that as Dr. Devi Chand died during his holiday and not actually on service, his family¹⁹ would not be entitled to certain concessions which they would have got if he had died on service. This seems to me a very wrong view. He died very much in service and in the actual discharge of his duty and obviously his death should be treated as such.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

17. Mahabir Singh, the Deputy Commissioner of Mahasu District, Himachal Pradesh. *The Tribune*, 20 July 1959.

18. The accident was at Shogi, on the Kalka-Simla Road, on 19 July. He died in a Simla hospital the next day. *The Tribune*, 21 July 1959.

19. Dr Devi Chand left behind his wife, two daughters and three sons. *The Tribune*, 21 July 1959.

192. To Krishna Hutheesing: Personal Matters²⁰

July 21, 1959

[Dear Betti]²¹

Your letter of the 12th July reached me today. I have not been well, so, lying in bed, I have read the papers you have sent me and the copies of old letters. I am dictating this letter also from bed.

You can certainly publish these old letters which you have sent me.²²

You have written about other matters also, rather personal ones. Do you think that this at all helps? We do not improve each other by chiding and I suppose that, on the threshold of seventy, I am a little past improvement, even though I try to do so.

Harsha and Ajit²³ have all my affection and good wishes. Why indeed should they suffer or be frustrated in their early youth? So has Raja.²⁴ But he has made it clear that he disagrees with me and the policies I follow almost completely and he has condemned my Government in the strongest language.²⁵ He has every right to do so and I cannot complain. But that makes it difficult for cooperation of that Government about which he has such a low opinion.

I am returning the copies of papers you have sent me.

[Love.]

[Jawahar]

20. Letter.

21. The younger of Nehru's two sister; affectionately called Betti or Betty.

22. Perhaps the "old letters" referred to here were meant for inclusion in the collection of Nehru's letters which Krishna Hutheesing later published; see Krishna Nehru Hutheesing (ed.), *Nehru's Letters to His Sister* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963).

23. The sons of Krishna Hutheesing.

24. Raja is G.P. Hutheesing, Krishna's husband.

25. G.P. Hutheesing, as a member of the PSP, had been criticizing the domestic and foreign policies of GOI. In June and July 1959, as the Organising Secretary of the Swatantra Party Bombay Office, he was closely associated with the activities of the new party set up by C. Rajagopalachari to oppose the Congress. From SWJN/SS/44/p. 584 and C. Rajagopalachari Papers, Instalment Nos VI-X, NMML.

193. To Mohammed Yunus: Sher Ali Khan Pataudi²⁶

July 21, 1959

My dear Yunus,²⁷

I have just received your letter of July 15th. I have read it with interest. I have not been keeping very well and in fact I have had to cancel all my tour programmes. I went to Simla for some short rest; instead I was unwell there.

The story that Sher Ali²⁸ had written a letter to me expressing his wish to come to India is not true. I do not remember having got any such letter from him or any such request in any other way. I met him once when he came here at the wedding of Pataudi's²⁹ daughter.³⁰

[Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru]

26. Letter.

27. Counsellor Chargé d'Affaires, the Embassy of India, Madrid, Sept. 1958-Nov. 1961.

28. Sher Ali Khan Pataudi (1913-2002); younger brother of the Nawab of Pataudi; commissioned into the British Indian Army, 1933; moved to Pakistan at the time of Partition; commanded Pakistan's parachute brigade during the 1948 Kashmir war; Adjutant General, and later Chief of General Staff, Pakistan Army; High Commissioner to Malaya, 1958, and Ambassador to Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, 1963; Federal Minister for Information, Broadcasting and National Affairs, 1967-71. The website of Pataudi (Princely State), <http://members.iinet.net.au/~royalty/ips/p/pataudi.html>, accessed on 26 April 2013.

29. Iftikhar Ali Khan Pataudi (1910-1952); the Nawab of Pataudi, 1917-52; studied in Lahore and Oxford; played Test cricket for England and India, and captained India on their visit to England in 1946; after independence, he was employed in the Indian foreign office till 1952. The website of Pataudi (Princely State) and David Crystal, *The Cambridge Biographical Encyclopedia* (1994).

30. The wedding of Pataudi's eldest daughter, Saleha Sultan Begum Sahiba, took place at Delhi on 20 December 1957. The website of Hyderabad: The Amir-i-Paigah Family (Viqur ul-Umara) Genealogy, <http://www.royalark.net/India3/paigarh2.htm>, accessed on 26 April 2013.

194. To MEA: Cleanliness in Offices³¹

Two days ago, as I was leaving office, I looked into some of the office rooms where staff were functioning. I found the floor often littered with bits of papers, cigarette ends and other rubbish. Just outside the doors, there was a collection of this kind of thing. I was told that the sweeper would come and would clean the floor and remove all this rubbish. What I could not make out was why proper receptacles like waste-paper baskets etc., were not provided.

2. I suggest that every person who is working in the office should have some such receptacle at hand where he can throw used paper etc. Nothing should ever be allowed to be thrown directly on the floor.

195. To Charles C. Dail: Key to San Diego³²

July 31, 1959

Dear Mr. Mayor,³³

I had a visit today from Mrs. Mason A. Bowen who gave me your letter of June 19th. I am grateful to you for your friendly letter and for the beautiful little gold Key to the City of San Diego which you have been good enough to send. This key will be a constant reminder to me of your beautiful city and your good wishes.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

31. Note to N.R. Pillai and B.N. Chakravarty, 23 July 1959.

32. Letter.

33. Charles C. Dail (1909-1968); American Democratic politician; Mayor of San Diego, California, 1955-63.

VI. APPENDICES

1. Congress Election Manifestoes¹

[Refer to items 8, 12-14, 30-32, 90 and 93]

Extract from Congress Election Manifesto of 1945

“The reform of the land system which is so urgently needed in India involves the removal of intermediaries between the peasant and the State. The rights of such intermediaries should, therefore, be acquired on payment of equitable compensation. While individualist farming or peasant proprietorship should continue, progressive agriculture as well as the creation of new social values and incentives require some system of cooperative farming suited to Indian conditions. Any such change can, however, be made only with the goodwill and agreement of the peasantry concerned. It is desirable, therefore, that experimental cooperative farms should be organised with State help in various parts of India. There should also be large State farms for demonstrative and experimental purposes.”

Extract from Congress Election Manifesto of 1951

“Increased agricultural production is absolutely essential for putting our national economy on a firm basis. Small and uneconomic holdings stand in the way of rapid advance in agricultural production. The line of advance should therefore be cooperative farming with the objective of making the whole or a substantial part of a village, a unit of cooperative management.”

Extract from Congress Election Manifesto of 1957

“On the land, all intermediaries must be progressively removed, so that land is owned by the cultivator himself. The principle of ceilings on land has been accepted and should be progressively introduced, so as to bring about a better distribution of land. Mechanised agriculture may be useful in some areas, but, in view of the man-power available and often not fully used, it is desirable to encourage intensified methods of cultivation on a cooperative basis. It is of the highest importance from every point of view that production should increase.

1. File No. 31 (93)/59-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

This is the surest way of adding to the country's resources and of combating inflation."

2. B.F.H.B. Tyabji to Subimal Dutt²

[Refer to item 143]

[...]

31. In the morning, we paid a visit to the Schering Pharmaceutical factory. This is an old established firm, which lost a great deal of property during the war, in the U.S.A., U.K. and other foreign countries, and also in East Germany. Nevertheless, the firm now claims to be the largest exporter of Pharmaceutical products in Germany. One of their Directors, Dr. Borner, whom I had first met when I was last in Berlin and later in Cologne, and as stated in paragraph 29 above, is also the President of the Berlin Chamber of Commerce, welcomed me at their Works. I was accompanied by Avtar Singh, Counsellor and A.R. Sethi, Consul.

We were then shown round the various sections of the factory, which are located in different buildings, some most modern and others ancient, which in a way well indicates the age of the firm and its fluctuating fortunes. I have always found a visit to a chemical and particularly a pharmaceutical factory very boring. This visit was no exception. We had however interesting talks later with Director Borner.

Scherings have been doing business with India for many years and are now thinking of producing hormones there in partnership with an Indian firm. They think that their plant might begin operating in a year or so.

32. Schering's claim great success in the research field. In fact, they attribute their recovery after the War to their achievements in this field. Apparently, they have been doing a great deal of research on producing a drug for birth control. Prof. Jungmann, their Research Director, is shortly going out to Japan, where experiments in birth control by the use of this drug are taking place. According to Prof. Jungmann, a pill a day for 20 days a month has to be taken by woman, if she wishes to insure herself against conception. This is obviously far too much, and is unlikely to work on any large scale. Experiments for producing a more convenient drug are of course continuing.

2. Tyabji's weekly letter to Foreign Secretary, sent from Bonn. File No. 7 (80)-Eur (W)/59. Only excerpts available in the file; date not mentioned.

33. According to Scherings, their firm was in touch with our Ministry of Health in this matter, but they were refused permission to carry out experiments in India until they could prove that their experiments had been successful elsewhere! This seems to be a very strange way of setting about the matter and of carrying out the plans that we have in mind for population control, especially as the drug concerned is a perfectly harmless one otherwise.

I have asked the firm to give us details of their correspondence with our Ministry of Health in order to pursue it further, with them if necessary. I am sending a copy of these paragraphs to the Health Ministry for their comments. [...]

3. R.K. Khadilkar to Nehru³

[Refer to items 77 and 78]

"You are aware, that the dispute concerning the border areas between Bombay and Mysore remains to be settled for the last three years or so. Time and again representations were made by the Marathi speaking people in the area that it is incorporated in the Mysore State, urging upon the Govt. to settle it without further delay. They were assured at the time of the passing of the States Reorganisation Bill that the question would be amicably settled at an early date through the Zonal Council that was to be constituted soon. Since then the issue was taken up in the Western Zonal Council but the Council thought it wise to leave the issue to be settled by the Chief Ministers of Bombay and Mysore on a mutually agreed basis. It was reported that the Chief Ministers concerned met on more than one occasion but failed to reach a settlement. In the given context of the situation, I am afraid, no Chief Minister of a State would agree to transfer or surrender even a small portion of the territory even though he may be convinced of the justice of the claim. I would, therefore, urge that without waiting indefinitely for a mutual agreement by the States concerned, the Union Government should actively intervene to bring about a final situation so as to put an end to the protracted dispute about the border region.

On several occasions, I have spoken about this matter with the Home Minister, Shri Pantji. I know he is equally anxious to see the end of the trouble but refrains from taking active steps to settle the dispute without further delay. I am constrained to observe that this indecision on the part of the Govt. is not only exasperating but leading to undesirable consequences.

3. Letter, 15 June 1959, sent from "Pushpak", Laxmi Road, Poona-2.

The Marathi speaking people in the region when all their efforts to bring a solution in sight proved of no avail, launched peaceful Satyagraha under compelling circumstances about six months back and later on they have decided to organise a campaign of non-payment of the Land Revenue in selected areas. The cultivators are withholding Govt. dues in order to bring to their notice the urgency of their claims. As such, the campaign is in the nature of a protest than a challenge to the Govt. authority. It is conducted in a peaceful and disciplined manner.

In the beginning of this month I visited Belgaum, the main centre of the dispute. In order to acquaint myself with the situation, I went round some of the villages along with Shri Nath Pai,⁴ MP, Shri B.R. Sunthakar, MLA (Mysore) and some leading workers who are directing the present campaign. In my talks with the peasants, I could sense the intensity of their feelings as well as their determination to sacrifice for the justice of their claims. It is really unfortunate that the Govt. of India should allow the situation to deteriorate to such an extent when they could have easily put an end to a campaign of this nature by appointing an official on their behalf to ascertain judicially the claims of both the parties and make a report to the Government. If such a course would have been adopted it would not only have put an end to the linguistic bitterness in the border region but would have immensely helped the Govt. to come to an equitable decision. Even now, in my opinion it is not too late to take a step in this direction. I feel confident that the leaders of the movement would welcome such a move by the Government.

I do realise that the disputes of this nature cannot be settled, in a stipulated period, even if some machinery as indicated above is set in motion. In the nature of things it is bound to take some time before a settlement acceptable to both the parties is reached. In the meantime, I would therefore request the Government to take all possible precautions so as not to disturb the language minority in the matters of administration, educational facilities and cultural activities in general. I was surprised to find that the Government of Mysore have utterly failed in reassuring the Marathi speaking people in the region as regards educational and other facilities. There is one well established College known as Rani Parvati Devi College at Belgaum. This institution is a Centre of educational and cultural life of the Marathi people. Naturally it is anxious to get affiliated to the Poona University, so that it would not be cut off from the broad current of academic and cultural life of Maharashtra. The Mysore Government have failed to appreciate the depth of the feelings on this issue and therefore

4. Bapu Nath Pai, PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Rajapur, Bombay.

would not allow affiliation of this College to the Poona University. If Government could see the justice of the claim and facilitate its immediate affiliation to the Poona University it would undoubtedly help to remove bitterness to some extent.

As regards the Secondary School Certificate Examination the attitude of the Mysore Government is equally unhelpful. From the Belgaum city alone out of 3,000 students who appeared for the last S.S.C. examination more than two third opted out and appeared for S.S.C. examination conducted by the Bombay Government. On the last occasion after good deal of agitation Government of Mysore gave permission at the last hour to have a centre at Belgaum for the Bombay S.S.C examination. Now I am told that the Mysore Government have decided to discontinue this facility from the next examination. This is another source of discontent affecting almost every family.

Moreover the old administrative routine is disturbed in such a manner so as to give ground for suspicion for Marathi people causing them unnecessary inconvenience if not harassment at every point where administration touches their daily life. It was reported to me that in the small portion of Marathi speaking area that has been incorporated in Andhra State the conditions in this behalf are radically different. The Govt. of Andhra Pradesh have assured the Marathi people there that a sort of status quo would be maintained in this area in regard to education, administration and [sic] etc. The Marathi people in the Andhra Pradesh have not to experience a subtle discriminatory treatment adversely affecting their social or cultural life. As a result the Marathi people in Andhra Pradesh do not share the bitterness or resentment that one comes across in the Mysore State. I would therefore urge that you should give your serious consideration to these questions affecting the life of the Marathi people in the Mysore State and help to remove their deep sense of grievance. If Mysore Government could be persuaded to take some steps indicated above immediately pending settlement of the border dispute, I feel confident that such an understanding approach would go a long way in restoring healthy neighbourly relations between Marathi and Kannada people. If the Government of Mysore were to exercise some restraint in their attitude of language chauvinism they would get equally friendly response from the Marathi people.

I have just indicated a tolerant constructive approach which I am sure you would appreciate. It would go a long way in creating a proper atmosphere for the just and lasting solution. I hope and trust you will exert your beneficial influence to impress on the Government of Mysore the immediate necessity of adopting such a course of action."

4. B.L. Raina to MEA⁵

[Refer to item 143]

Ministry of Health
New Delhi,
the 20th June, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Sub:- Extract from Ambassador's Weekly letter
(copy attached)

I am directed to state that a number of manufacturers and Worcester Foundation have approached us for Clinical trials on Steriod [sic] (an oral contraceptive). Professor Junkman has also approached us for the same. He was informed that it was not proposed to undertake clinical trials on steriod in India till sufficient trials have been carried abroad to indicate that the drug has no harmful effect on human beings. During the International Conference on Planned Parenthood,⁶ Dr. Gregory Pincus (who also saw the Prime Minister) made an offer of steriod. It was decided that we would be glad to receive steriod for trials on experimental animals only.

2. The research on this drug abroad is being closely watched but as the drug is not yet considered absolutely harmless it is not proposed to carry out clinical trials on human beings at present, and the question of its manufacture in India does not arise. But it will be appreciated if Professor Junkman keeps the Directorate of Health Services informed on the progress of the research in Laboratory and clinical trials that may be continuing in Germany or in any other part of the world.

B.L. Raina

5. Memorandum. File No. 7 (80)-Eur (W)/59.

6. Held in New Delhi, 14-21 February 1959.

5. K.D. Malaviya to Nehru⁷*[Refer to items 48-49]*Camp: Mussoorie,
June 22, 1959

My dear Jawaharlalji,

[...]

It is not clear yet what Assam Govt. wants. So far as the Oil India Private Ltd. is concerned, you know, we are 33% partners in the venture. For the present, the number of Directors is six. The BOC/The Assam Oil Co. have nominated 4 Directors and the Govt. of India 2, including a representative of Assam Govt. We proposed that the number of Directors in the Board should be 9 so that we may have one more representative, making in all 3 as against 6 of the BOC/The Assam Oil Co., but the latter have not yet agreed to it. So we have done the utmost that we could do to include the representative of Assam Govt. in the Oil India Ltd. whose job is to explore for oil further in the areas leased to the Co. and to produce crude oil and transport it to our refineries.

[...]

If you may like to discuss the partnership of Assam Govt. in the Indian Refineries Ltd. then the question of Bihar's partnership will also arise. Besides the non-official members on the Board of Indian Refineries Ltd., we may have one official Member from Assam and one from Bihar. If necessary, we shall increase the numbers of our official Directors from the Government of India. This is a very tentative proposal and is made for a basis for discussion.

Yours affectionately
Keshava Deva Malaviya**6. B.P. Chaliha to Saiyid Fazl Ali⁸***[Refer to items 47-51 and 83]*

When I met you on the 16th instant I conveyed to you the subjects which I discussed in Delhi recently with the Prime Minister and others. There are certain matters about which I have felt that I should draw your attention and I hope

7. Letter. File No. 17 (290)/58-69-PMS. Excerpts.

8. Letter, 25 June 1959, sent from Gauhati.

that you will be able to appreciate the spirit in which I am writing this letter.

Assam as you know inspite of her great industrial potentialities is industrially backward. It is encouraging that the Government of India has taken up exploration of the natural resources like oil in the public sector. In the private sector also some industries are coming up. Yet I have noticed that these industrial enterprises have not been able to enthuse our people. The indigenous population's attitude is that after all how we are going to be benefitted through these enterprises, because in the matter of employment it is the people from outside the State who would come and derive the benefit. It has been a sad experience of the people of Assam that in the sphere of employment in the Central Services like the Railways, Posts & Telegraphs and also in the industries of Assam their share is negligible.

As compared to the people of other States the educational facilities, general and technical, became available to the people of Assam rather late. As such it is difficult for them to compete with the people of the advanced States of India. Nevertheless, some of our young men are quite brilliant and should have been in a position to stand in competitions. In this matter also the impression is that because there is no representation in the Selection Boards they do not get justice. In this connection you know that in the various Selection Boards like the Railway Service Commission and other Boards for recruitment to Central Services, there is no member from the State. I am trying to give here how the mind of the people is working.

We have felt that as a State Government we have a responsibility to see that the people of the State find employment. Therefore, the Cabinet is now considering a proposal to adopt a policy, so that the people of the State of Assam are given preferential treatment in the matter of employment in the various services and industries.

In the matter of oil exploration, gas exploration and the refinery which are coming up, [un]less the State Government is allowed to participate we will have to remain only as a silent spectator. We will not find the pride of our association and besides that it may be difficult also to protect the interests of the people of the State in the matter of employment. Therefore, we proposed that we should be allowed to participate in the Oil India Limited and also in the refinery and also in the Gas projects when they come up. Our first proposal to participate in the Oil India Ltd. was not accepted by the Govt. of India and we are sorry for that. I spoke to the Prime Minister this time and he was good enough to say that the matter would be reopened. I am going to write to him again.

There is hardly any State in India which has a variety of population as we have in Assam. Insipite of this diversity, Assam maintained a friendly relationship

between communities. The people of Assam feel that the Assamese language worked as a medium to maintain this unity in diversity. Even a tribal living in very remote areas speak[s] broken Assamese and can convey his feelings. Therefore they feel that this medium should be strengthened more and more. The Assamese people have felt strongly about the language policy of NEFA. Although I know that Assamese language has not been fully ignored, yet it is felt that the importance has been removed by introducing Hindi as the medium of instruction. My feelings are not different from the rest of the population. Actually we want the spread of Hindi as a National language, but reducing the importance of Assamese for the State of Assam, is bound to be detrimental to the best interests of the country. Therefore what I feel is that there is need for changing the language policy of NEFA and Assamese should be kept as the medium of instruction and while Hindi may be made a compulsory subject. I was very pleased to hear from you that this is going to be done and it will be begun at first in the areas nearer the plains districts. This decision is welcomed but perhaps the situation demands to bring this change throughout NEFA as soon as possible. The sooner an announcement could be made to this effect the better.

I am distressed to find that communal relationship in the State has of late deteriorated very fast. One important reason for this is the aggressive attitude of Pakistan, border firings, forcible occupation of Tokergram and our failure to recover it. These things have irritated the people very much and gradually it is manifesting into an anti-Muslim feeling. Of course, there are agent provocateurs who are always at work to create troubles. What has recently happened at Jorhat is very distressing. Of course, we have taken all steps but unfortunately such incidents leave behind undesirable effects. I know that the Prime Minister is trying his best to resolve our disputes with Pakistan. Unfortunately things are not progressing. I am worried over it.

The flood situation is also very serious. While in the district of Cachar the water is receding the latest report from North Kamrup is very alarming. I requested last night the Defence Minister to send us two helicopters for rescue work and I am glad that these two helicopters are reaching Gauhati tomorrow. After the water recedes I feel that we will have to spend a colossal amount to rehabilitate the victims of flood. I am certain that our State resources will not be adequate to meet the demands. We will have to put our heads together and find out ways and means.

I often receive complaints from the Assamese officers working in the Education Department in NEFA. They complain that they are not properly treated, justice is not done to them and through various methods conditions are created by which they cannot continue in service. I of course do not know the

facts and therefore I am unable to say how far these grievances are true. I would request you to keep an eye on this matter and see that no injustice is done to them.

I am trying to convey you through this letter certain psychological reactions of the people of the State which call for our consideration. I have no doubt that I will get your valuable advice and assistance. It may be that on some of these matters you may consider it desirable to write to the Prime Minister.

7. M.C. Chagla to Nehru⁹

[Refer to items 187 and 188]

Washington, D.C.

29th June 1959

My dear Panditji,

I am forwarding herewith an invitation issued to you by the American Society of Newspaper Editors to give the principal address on the occasion of its banquet on the evening of Saturday, April 23, 1960. The invitation is issued by Mr Wiggins who is one of the editors of the Washington Post – a very fine journalist and a very good friend of India.

The invitation is seconded by the Programme Chairman of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. He is Mr Norman E. Isaacs who is also a journalist of considerable repute here.

May I strongly endorse the invitation issued by the Society. This Society is perhaps the most important Society of journalists in this country and it includes in its membership all the important publishers and editors of the country. The banquet session of the Society is considered to be the most important public forum in the nation. In my opinion, it will be a very fine opportunity for you to appeal to the American people on matters which are of common interest to our two countries. The atmosphere here at present is extremely friendly towards us and your presence in this country will be widely welcomed not only by all our friends but even by that section of the opinion which is gradually being made to understand the Indian point of view and the policies and the principles for which India stands.

9. Letter. File No. 71 (7)-AMS/59, MEA.

I know how busy you are, but apart from addressing the Society you could make your programme here as short as you desire it to be.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

M.C. Chagla

8. Ellsworth Bunker to Nehru¹⁰

[Refer to item 170]

[Washington, D.C.]

I have been giving a good deal of thought to the comment you made during our cordial conversation May 20 that the only discordant note in the friendly relations prevailing between our two countries was the matter of my Government's military assistance to your neighbour, Pakistan. I recall that you illustrated the point by referring to a report which your Government had received to the effect that Pakistan had acquired from us several hundred amphibious military vehicles which, in the opinion of your Government, could not be used against aggression from the north but only in "riverine defense" against India.¹¹

On my return to Washington I inquired into the matter and have learned positively that my Government has not provided – and in fact does not contemplate providing – amphibious vehicles to Pakistan under the military assistance or any other aid programme. This being the case, it is not necessary for me to comment on the general suitability of amphibious vehicles for purposes of providing internal security or legitimate self-defense for a country such as Pakistan.

I am sending you this information as I believe you will be relieved to know that the disquieting report which had come to your notice has no basis in fact.

I hope you are keeping well though I learn from press reports and other sources that there is no let-up in your activity. My wife and I are planning to spend a few weeks in the Green Mountains of Vermont which we think are

10. Letter, 29 June 1959. Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, Historical Division, *Notes, Memoranda and Decisions of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, September 1946-May 1964*, Vol. III, U.S. Military Assistance to Pakistan, January 1959-May 1964, pp. 14-15.

11. See Nehru's note of 22 May 1959, SWJN/SS/49/item 304, here p. 580.

lovely but would seem I fear, tame to you compared to the Himalayan heights you have reached.¹²

I have had a long talk with the President who has a very keen personal and sympathetic interest in all that is happening in India.

He has asked me to convey to you his very warm regards.

My wife and I think of you often and of the many complex problems you face and handle with such skill and dedication.

9. S.R. Das to Nehru¹³

[Refer to item 63]

I have just received your letter No. 365-PMH/59 of the 26th instant¹⁴ for which I thank you.

The report of certain adverse remarks said to have been made by you at a Press conference against an erstwhile esteemed colleague of mine did cause considerable anguish and resentment in the minds of my colleagues and of myself. Such remarks made in public against a Judge, sitting or even retired, of a High Court or of the Supreme Court are bound indirectly to affect prejudicially the prestige and dignity of the courts. That apart, it is primarily a matter between the particular Judge and the person who makes the remarks against him. I am glad that you have written to Shri Vivian Bose in the way you have done and I do hope that he will accept your explanation in the same spirit in which and as generously as it has been rendered by you.¹⁵

What, however, is worrying me considerably is the larger and graver issue of public importance, namely, whether a Judge of a High Court or of the Supreme Court should be asked to participate, either as the chairman or as a member, in a board or committee of enquiry, particularly of an enquiry into the conduct of public servants. Strictly speaking a board of enquiry, such as Vivian Bose Board was, is merely an advisory body. Therefore the Government was within its rights to accept or reject the recommendations of the Vivian Bose Board wholly or in part. No exception can legally be taken to this. Further, as the enquiry related to public servants, the Government was entitled, and indeed, bound

12. Ellsworth Bunker seems to be referring to Nehru's two-day visit to Chail; see item 1, paragraph 25.

13. Letter, 30 June 1959, sent from "Swapanpuri," Kalimpong.

14. See SWJN/SS/49/item 151 fn 423.

15. For Nehru's letter to Vivian Bose and Bose's reply, see SWJN/SS/49/item 151.

under Article 320 of the Constitution, to refer the matter to the U.P.S.C. and the latter was perhaps entitled to review the whole question and tender its advice to the Government. But the question of principle is whether the President of India should place a Judge of a High Court or of the Supreme Court in an invidious situation in which his decision will be liable to be rejected and expose him to the risk of being the target of personal attacks against which he cannot obviously defend himself. In view of the great respect which the public undoubtedly has for the High Courts and the Supreme Court, as is evidenced by their insistence on a Judge being appointed the chairman of every committee for public enquiry, and in view of Article 141 of the Constitution under which the law declared by the Supreme Court becomes the law of the land, a rejection of the recommendation or decision of such a board presided over by such a Judge is calculated to be resented by some members of the public as a deliberate flouting of the decision of such a high authority by the executive to suit its own purpose and on the other hand such rejection may be regarded by others as a just and deserved reflection on the circumspection and ability of the particular Judge which will certainly undermine the prestige and dignity of the courts and bring them into hatred, ridicule and contempt. Both contingencies are undesirable and in the larger interests of the country such a calamity must, I think, be avoided. As the Supreme Court is in vacation, it is not possible to convene a meeting of the Full Court, but I am contacting my colleagues to ascertain their views on the subject. After discussing the matter in a Full Court meeting on the re-opening of the Court, I shall communicate to you the views of the Court as a whole on this question of principle.

10. Purushottam Kakodkar to Nehru¹⁶

[Refer to item 61]

Mudgaon – Goa.

July 1, 1959

My dear Panditji,

I wrote to you a few days ago that I would shortly be coming to Delhi. But I have neither been able to leave this place nor am in a position to tell how long will it exactly take. The reason is that the police department, which actually

16. Letter. Translation from the Hindi in File No. 4-26/GOA/58(NGO), MEA, in the records of the MHA.

acts according to the policy of the Governor-General,¹⁷ has denied necessary permission (visa) for going outside Goa (to Bombay).

I will not mention all the details here, because I propose to write another long letter to you. I would at present state only this much that it is not yet clear to me whether there has been any definite policy of the Government behind the following acts:-

1. Detaining two spinning-wheels and cotton on the border.
2. Closing two (Vidhayak?) centres one after the other.
3. Causing hindrances in the way of my scheduled interview with the Governor, and
4. Denying permission to me for going to Bombay.

May be that these difficulties are removed or they might multiply. I will proceed to Bombay as soon as permission is granted to me. I have to make Hostel arrangements for my son.

Although the authorities hold that my "views, instead of changing, have been confirmed, even after undergoing long sentences in the prisons of Goa and Portugal", I have not started any activity against the law and the Government. I have not even started that activity, which is generally termed as Political. Moreover, I have informed the authorities that, in case, at any time I have to start a political movement, I will intimate the authorities at least 24 hours in advance. I think there has been no "government's own policy" as regards the difficulties that have arisen. Some officers act according to Governor's advice, behind which there are powerful influences of certain non-official persons. Some businessman try to gain or grant advantages both in Goa and India and they do this either to increase their funds or on the strength of their funds. These people try to influence the authorities as well as the media of publicity. They have started a verbal campaign against me in Goa and also in the newspapers of Bombay. This publicity is intended to involve me here and also to degrade me in the eyes of Indians outside Goa. I do not take into consideration other newspapers of Bombay but I am enclosing herewith a cutting of "Goa Tribune" weekly with which, I think, the Government of India has active sympathy. It is not a matter of pleasure to me when I write that certain persons who are being termed as revolutionaries after having gone to Bombay, had a totally different political and social life in Goa.

I would be happy if I am allowed to go to Bombay, otherwise I have to stay here and work. I am sure your good wishes are with me.

17. Manuel Ant6nio Vassallo e Silva was the Governor General of Portuguese India, 1958-61.

I have to place certain things before you, but it is not possible to write all in one letter. However, I am making a beginning in this letter. It is not possible to write everything in the letters, even then some of things must necessarily be told to you.

1. The Goan problem seems to be somewhat complicated at the present but I do not think it to be really so. If a definite policy is adopted from top to bottom and is implemented firmly and with clear understanding, I feel it will change the whole climate of the place. For the time being we are like a tube with many holes. We pump it to our utmost but the air does not stay there. It is, therefore, necessary to stay [sic] each one of the holes and in case it is not possible, the whole tube will have to be changed. A new tube will have to be used which has no holes in it. You know me, I do not talk much. Whatever I see, I humbly put before you.

2. There has been no proper effort to organise the people of Goa either inside or outside Goa. No effort has been made to strengthen the feelings of the people though such an effort was desirable and possible. Everything is disintegrating. Sincere workers are being forgotten while others are flourishing day and night.

3. Smuggling has increased to monstrous proportions. There seems to be no end to it. People are almost used to it now. I am not talking of smuggling by sea. I am writing only of smuggling by land. What on earth does not come to Goa or go out of it! It has to be admitted that such sort of smuggling is not possible unless the subordinate staff (and some officials too) on both sides of the border are a party to it. The goods seized sometimes are almost insignificant and may be that such seizures are a cunning way of camouflaging the real smuggling. The controlling of this menace, it appears to me, is almost an impossibility.

4. The people known for their black deeds, used to get facilities from either Majali or Bombay or even Delhi. They used to visit Bombay freely. On one hand they act against the policy of the Government of India, and on the other they are found enjoying the facilities of the same government, while so many others are not in a position to get even minor facilities. A big businessman is in a position to come and go freely, but his employees are prevented from doing so only for the fact that they are his servants.

5. Many persons released from prisons are in Goa and they wish to do something for Goa. But they are not getting any help, while so many other persons are being helped that, sometimes, I wonder at all that is happening here. In absence of necessary help the services of good persons are not being properly utilised.

I have put before you some of the facts about the situation here. I will put

some more facts later and also suggest some remedies. I hope no hasty steps will be taken.

I may receive any letters or messages at the following address:- Rachna Samiti, Post. Angadi-Karwar (North Canara).

I hope you are in the best of health.

Yours sincerely,
Purushottam Kakodkar

11. Humayun Kabir to Nehru¹⁸

[Refer to item 133]

July 2, 1959

My dear Panditji,

You will remember that from time to time, there have been questions in Parliament about some of the activities of the three Akademies. I have been and am still of the view that the Akademies should have the fullest possible autonomy in all respects, but I am advised that legally, the Government will remain responsible to Parliament for their activities and their expenditure so long as they receive grants voted by Parliament. Obviously, Government cannot discharge this responsibility to Parliament unless Government has a voice in the budget and financial administration of the Akademies. The view has also been expressed that the Akademies cannot enjoy greater autonomy than bodies set up by legislative enactment and in the case of the L.I.C. you have yourself held that Government must have some general powers of overall supervision. The Speaker of the Lok Sabha¹⁹ has also expressed similar views on several occasions both on the floor of the House and in informal conversation.

These Akademies have been set up by a Government Resolution, and two of them have since been registered under the Registration of Societies Act. As such, the powers and functions of the Akademies may be compared to a society like the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. A comparison with the Council is of special interest in this connection. You are its President and the Governing Body includes several members of the Cabinet and some of the Chief Ministers of States. The constitution of the Council nevertheless provides that no alteration or extension of the purposes of the Council nor any changes

18. Letter. File No. 40 (184)/59-PMS.

19. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

in its rules can be carried out without the prior approval of the Government. The constitution of the Council gives the Government even the power "to terminate the membership of any member or at one and the same time of all the members other than the ex-officio members of the Governing Body."

In spite of such large powers reserved to Government, there has never been any interference with the functions and activities of the Council and you are aware how it has functioned with complete autonomy. In the case of the three Akademies, it does not seem necessary to reserve such large powers to Government, but so long as the Akademies draw their grants from Government, and Government has to answer to Parliament, it seems necessary that the Akademies will have to submit to general financial control by Government. This need not however interfere with the autonomy of the Akademies as we have already found from our experience of the C.S.I.R. In fact, except for certain financial matters, and very general issues of policy, the Akademies must remain autonomous in all other respects.

If you think that the Akademies should have a greater degree of autonomy than the C.S.I.R. and be completely free of Parliamentary control, the only alternative seems to be to set up a National Trust, as originally proposed by Sir Maurice Gwyer.²⁰ His suggestion was that Government should set up a Trust by an Act of Parliament and make an outright grant of about 4 or 5 crores to the National Trust. The Trust would then meet the expenses of the Akademies out of the interest from the capital. It would not in fact make much difference from the financial point of view, as the grant which the Government would make to the National Trust would be invested in National Planning Certificates and the interest therefrom would not be larger than the grants which we now annually make. It would however have the advantage of avoiding annual reference of the activities of the Akademies to the Parliament during the discussion on the Budget.

I consulted Professor Radhakrishnan on these points and also sent him a note on the subject which has been prepared after informal consultation with the Ministry of Law. I am sending you also a copy of this note.

Dr. Radhakrishnan felt that

"It will be advisable to keep these Akademies as far as possible independent of the Government and Parliament. Status similar to that of the Universities may be given to them and suitable legislation promoted. If, however, this idea does not find favour with the Government, the following steps may perhaps be taken:

20. The Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University, 1938-50.

- (1) The financial rules of the Akademies may as far as possible conform to the general pattern of Government rules;
- (2) The Treasurer who is appointed by the Akademi shall ordinarily be the Financial Adviser to the Ministry;
- (3) The Finance Committee shall meet once in a quarter when the statement of receipts and expenditure will be considered."

If you will kindly glance through the enclosed note at your leisure, I would like to discuss this with you at your convenience. If you think it desirable, either a National Trust could be set up, or, as suggested by Prof. Radhakrishnan, the Akademies might be given statutory status by suitable legislation. In either case, it may be an advantage to appoint a small committee consisting of the representatives of the three Akademies and the Ministries of Finance, Law and Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs to go into the whole question and make detailed recommendations.

Yours sincerely,
Humayun Kabir

12. D.P. Karmarkar to Nehru²¹

[Refer to item 118]

2nd July, 1959.

My dear Prime Minister,

I had occasion to submit to you about the undesirability of the Rockefeller Foundation taking the initiative in the matter of choosing candidates for deputations, training and the like and you had asked me to send you the papers in that regard. The procedure which appears to have been ultimately evolved for such cases has been summarised at page 7 of the notes in the file placed herewith. According to that procedure it is the Foundation that has the first "informal discussions with Universities, institutes and other organisations and also with individuals²² engaged in activities of interest to the Foundation before proposals are prepared for the consideration of the trustees of the Foundation." That is to say that the Foundation will not, in the first instance, tell the Government of India of the nature of the scholarships or travel grants available during the particular period and the Government of India comes only in a

21. Letter. File No. 67 (4)/58, MEA.

22. Emphasis in the original.

consultative character before the Foundation may finalise its recommendations. I should like respectfully to submit that such a course is not at all desirable from the point of view of the morale of those who might be chosen for such deputations and grants. This is rather an unusual procedure. Even in the case of other aiding agencies like the T.C.M. etc., it is the normal procedure for the Government of India to ask the State Governments, the Universities and the like for making their recommendations and a final selection is made by the Government of India in a Committee to which the representative of the concerned organisation is also invited. If I might venture to say so, the logical result of the procedure as suggested would be to encourage our people to seek the favour of the representative of the Rockefeller Foundation which is hardly consonant with our self-respect. In fact, it is only the Rockefeller Foundation that have insisted upon this type of procedure. There is already an unhealthy eagerness amongst our people to somehow or the other get themselves deputed abroad and it is necessary, I respectfully suggest, to do all that we can not to encourage such a tendency. I would respectfully submit that the normal course that has been adopted in the case of other international agencies should also be adopted in the case of the Rockefeller Foundation.

With respectful Pranams,

Yours sincerely,
D.P. Karmarkar

13. Partap Singh Kairon to Nehru²³

[Refer to item 102]

I am writing to you about a matter which we consider to be of vital importance to this State. This is the selection of the next Project that we should undertake after Bhakra. Unfortunately, our investigations and studies of the likely Projects are not complete, although work on this is proceeding on a high priority basis. I should really have written after completion of these investigations and studies, but feel that the pressure of events in connection with the canal water dispute and the Rajasthan Canal is such that I must trouble you to acquaint yourself with Punjab's point of view immediately, so that the eventual decision that is taken is just and fair to all.

23. Letter, 4 July 1959, sent from Chandigarh. File No. NR-2 (23)/59, Irrigation Division, Planning Commission. Also available in JN Collection.

2. As you are aware, the Beas Dam Project was investigated on a priority basis to provide material to the Indian party at the recent negotiations conducted by the World Bank. Because this Project figured in these discussions, it has been mentioned as the likely Project to be taken up after Bhakra. The further justification that is advanced for the Beas Dam Project is that it provides perennial irrigation to the Rajasthan Canal areas, and also that we are likely to earn foreign exchange from the World Bank and other sources for it.

3. There is, however, another storage Project on the Beas, which our engineers have been investigating and which, in our opinion, has superior merits. This is known as the Beas Sutlej Link Project, with Suketi Reservoir. As against 5.5 m.a.f. storage capacity for the Beas Dam, this Project provides a storage capacity of only 3.5 m.a.f. However, we estimate that this would be quite sufficient to provide perennial irrigation on the Rajasthan Canal for the early years of development of irrigation there. The main advantage of this Project is that, in addition to providing the minimum needs of the Rajasthan Canal, it meets the power needs of the Punjab-Delhi-Rajasthan region, which would otherwise not be met. We estimate that, after taking generation from the Left and Right Power Stations at Bhakra into account, this region is going to suffer a power shortage at the end of 1966, to meet which a further source of power must be developed from now so as to be ready by that date. The Link Project will give 100,000 K.W. additional power from the two Power Stations at Bhakra, with a potential of further power of the order of 600,000 K.W. from a future Power Station, which can form a later stage of the scheme.

4. There are several other points in favour of the Beas Sutlej Link Project. For instance, it will probably cost about Rs. 50 crores only against Rs.74 crores of the Beas Dam Project. I do not intend to trouble you with details at present, because the investigation of this Project has not yet been completed. All I would request is that, in view of the immense power potential of the Link Project, and in view of the fact that it claims to provide the minimum needs of the Rajasthan Canal for several years to come, this Project should be given fair consideration on merit before we finally select the scheme that we intend to sponsor for financial assistance from the World Bank.

5. I may say that discussions on these lines have already taken place between our engineers, Shri Kanwar Sain of the Rajasthan Canal Project and Shri N.D. Gulhati of the Canal Waters Dispute Section. Shri Gulhati has asked us to carry out certain studies to clear his doubts in respect of the Link Project, and these are expected to be completed in a month or two. When that stage has been reached I think, the top engineers from Punjab, Rajasthan and the Centre should meet to consider the relative merits of both Projects, so that the right decision is taken keeping in mind the over-all needs of this entire region.

14. B.K. Nehru to Subimal Dutt²⁴*[Refer to item 163]*

No. 323.

Dutt from B.K. Nehru.

Your FS/645/59 dated 29th and Prime Minister's 385-PMO/59 dated 30th June, Soviet Credit.²⁵

[2]. Mr. Khrushchev's letter has greatly added to my gloom generated by events in United States Congress during past few days which have effectively reduced our prospect of getting early understanding on substantial aid for Third Five Year Plan from this country.

3. My advice on question put is as follows: Khrushchev's letter should not be published because:

(a) It does not mention indication given by Khrushchev to Sardar Swaran Singh that amount can be increased subsequently, figure is so small that if it is known that this is all the Soviet assistance we are likely to get for the Third Plan effect on what West might feel obliged to do will undoubtedly be harmful, and

(b) Khrushchev's letter contains specific statement that our Ambassador asked for repayment terms on lines of Bhilai credit, if we do not get the money on any other terms presumably we have to take what we can get but if it comes to be known that we ourselves asked the Russians for only 12 years while asking the West for 40 years it will greatly embarrass our position. There is some feeling here that we are actually aiding the Soviet economy with American money and the economic justification for it lies exactly in the difference in the length of credit, the surplus generated by foreign aid is taken away by the short-term creditor who gets a first mortgage on our future earnings. Further as will soon happen we will in effect be borrowing from the Americans and repaying the Russians. In these circumstances we should in no case give any cause for belief that we ourselves are content to ask the Russians for medium-term loans while protesting against them from the West.

4. I presume publication of offer cannot be withheld till that vaguely indeterminate date when the West will be prepared to talk business. This being so it would be helpful if an announcement is made almost immediately i.e. within the next 3 or 4 days before the fate of the American Mutual Security Bill

24. Telegram, Indian Embassy, Washington D.C., to MEA, 6 July 1959. File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS.

25. See SWJN/SS/49/item 319.

is finally sealed – saying that the Soviet have offered and we have accepted a fresh credit of 1500 million roubles for projects in the Third Five Year Plan without indicating in the announcement the terms and conditions of repayment. If the Russians would be prepared to say in the communiqué that this is the first instalment of their aid for the Third Plan or that they would consider further credits later on this would be ideal. But in any case the communiqué should avoid giving the impression that this is the final Russian figure for the Third Plan. Russians will no doubt appreciate this point in view of Khrushchev's own advice to keep the Communist devil flying.

5. Mention would not be made of the remainder of the 500 million roubles credit still to be used as there are large sums of Western aid outstanding which can be used only in the Third Five Year Plan and it would be undesirable to give the West an opening to subtract these outstanding credits from the new demands we are making on them.

6. In accepting the offer we should I think make clear to the Russians that in our circumstances the terms of repayment offered are likely not only to lead us into economic difficulties but also to embarrass us. They should therefore leave the terms open for further discussion and we should make another very serious attempt to change their pattern of aid. Even the terms of the second Russian credit 500 million roubles are better than the Bhilai terms, reversion to Bhilai would be retrogression.

Grateful if I could be informed in advance of your decision and text of communiqué if one is to be issued.²⁶

15. B.K. Nehru to Subimal Dutt²⁷

[Refer to item 163]

No. 324.

Dutt from B.K. Nehru.

Soviet Credit. Continuation my 323 dated 6th July.

2. Mutual Security Bill going to Conference either end of this week or beginning of next. Attempt to get Soviets to agree to communiqué on lines I have suggested will probably require more time. Next appropriate stage for

26. See also telegram from B.K. Nehru to Subimal Dutt, 7 July 1959, Appendix 15, in continuation of this telegram.

27. Telegram, Indian Embassy, Washington D.C., to MEA, 7 July 1959. File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS.

announcement will be before measure goes to Appropriations Committees. This will be about two weeks hence. If therefore you agree to course of action suggested announcement could be delayed by two weeks.

16. Indian Consul-General, Lhasa, to MEA²⁸

[Refer to item 156]

No. 338.

In Lhasa Tibetan Daily dated 23 June an article entitled "Gyantse in the History of Imperialists Design in Tibet" appeared. In this article the writer gives details of invasion of Gyantse by British troops in 1904 and tries to show how heroically Tibet tried to fight back the Britishers. However following portion which is of our interest is reproduced.

Begins. The place immediately near to the British Imperial Cemetery is the cantonment of Indian Army stationed at Gyantse. The 1954 agreement between India and China on trade and (2 group corrupt) the withdrawal of the Indian troops from Gyantse. The people of Gyantse could clearly see that the legacy of British imperialism in Tibet was inherited by the Indian expansionist element. During the course of their stay at Gyantse, the Indian Army forcibly took food grains and fodders from the people of Gyantse. The people were forced to do corvee work for them e.g. they had to provide supply transport, firewood, servants etc. in return for nothing to the Indian Army. The Indian troops were fond of riding military horses, and they rough shod the green fields of the people and thus destroying the autumn harvest. Officers and men of the Indian troops intrigued visited the traitor Phala and held parties and games of Majong. These evil deeds of the Indian army are very much resented by the people of Gyantse. And though the fire of their anger was burning in the stomach, there was no opportunity for the smoke to come out of the mouth. Ends.

2. Similarly an article about Chumbi Valley appeared on 16th June. Portion which is of interest to us is reproduced below.

Begins. According to Tsewang, formerly when they suffered from ailment, they had not only to send a servant and a horse to fetch the doctor, but the fee charged by the doctor was exorbitantly high. The poor man was helpless to provide such luxury and so when a poor man fell ill, the inevitable was death. Ends.

28. Telegram, 7 July 1959, copied to the Political Officer of India, Sikkim, at Gangtok.

This is deliberate propaganda on the part of Chinese to slander us in the eyes of Tibetans. As far as I know Indian troops never took anything free or took their horses in the cultivated field. Relations with Phala with the Indian Officers were purely friendly and social. I do not think at any time politics was discussed.

Full text of the article will be despatched by bag.

17. E.M.S. Namboodiripad to Nehru²⁹

[Refer to item 1]

I am herewith sending you the copy of the letter which I received from the General Secretary, Kerala Private Secondary Teachers' Association, and the copy of my reply to him.

All teachers' organisations except the Kerala Private Secondary Teachers' Association accepted our invitation and had discussions with us on the various suggestions with regard to amendments to be made in the Education Act. The result of these discussions with them is summed up in a note which the representatives of these organisations handed over to me and of which a copy is enclosed herewith.

You will see from that note, and the letter of the organisation which did not send its representatives, that there is much common ground between them all. While none of them would have serious objection to a reconsideration of, and necessary amendments to, Sec. 11 with regard to appointment of teachers, they are stoutly opposed to the Managers' proposal for scrapping the entire Act, or to making basic changes in the other provisions of the Act. We have also seen how Shri Abraham, the representative of the Managers' Association, in his letter has demanded the scrapping of the entire Act, as a condition precedent to the starting of the discussions. It was unfortunately this stand of the Managers that has been approved by the Congress Parliamentary Board in its resolution which demands "that the implementation of this Act (not any particular section or sections, but the entire Act) be postponed".

I have read your fortnightly letter to Chief Ministers, dated 2nd July, in which a good many paragraphs are devoted to your visit to Kerala and your impressions thereof. I can assure you that, if only the views expressed by you in that letter are accepted and implemented by KPCC leaders, the "bitter conflict between two solid groups" referred to in your letter can be resolved.

29. Letter, 7 July 1959, sent from Trivandrum.

Unfortunately, however, the Opposition here does not seem to be anxious to find solutions to the problems for this conflict, but to have the conflict ended in a particular way, i.e., in total victory for them and total defeat for the other side. How else can one explain the fact that, while your own proposals were at least “partially accepted” by us, the Opposition took the stand that they would not be satisfied with anything less than “resignation or removal” of our Government? How else can one explain the fact that, even as late as on the 5th July – nearly a week after the Parliamentary Board adopted its resolution expressing its disapproval of school and transport picketing – the Vimochana Samara Samiti of Shri Mannathu Padmanabhan has adopted a resolution that an intensified campaign of picketing Government Offices and schools should be started on July 9, and has formed a committee of Action which includes among its members Shri Mustaffa, one of the Secretaries of the KPCC?

I may also draw your attention to a police report which we have received to the effect that “the subordinate Action Committees of the Vimochana Samara Samiti has been informed by the Central Action Committee of a proposal to picket Raj Bhavan from the 15th instant”. I do not know whether this will actually be implemented, but it is an indication of the trend of thinking among the opposition parties.

I hope you have received the copy of the statement which I issued yesterday and in which I had given the details of damage done to, and the destruction of, transport buses and boats and of schools. That campaign is still going on, yesterday’s record being more or less the same as during the last few days. I am giving below extracts from the Police Reports for yesterday:

“Trivandrum District.

“At 9.10 a.m. today two State Transport buses were stoned by supporters of the Vimochana Samara Samiti at Chenthitta causing damages to the buses to the value of Rs. 400/-. Crime No. 219/59 of Puthenchantha Police Station has been registered in this connection.

“Three buses were stoned by supporters of the Vimochana Samara Samiti between Sasthamangalam and Vellayambalan Junction at about 9.25 a.m. today. Damages have been caused to the buses. One of the buses swerved on to the foot-path and hit against a compound wall, as the driver lost control as a result of stone throwing. The right front tyre of one of the buses was punctured with a knife. Damages caused come to Rs. 400/-. Crime No. 224 and No. 225/59 have been registered in the Cantonment Police Station.

“At about 9.50 a.m. at Kuriathy, a State Transport City Service bus on the Karamana-Thaliyal route was held up by a road block erected with logs of

wood. The passengers and staff in the bus got out and ran away, to save themselves from attack. The bus was stoned by agitators, causing damages to the value of Rs. 380/-. On receipt of information a Police Party went to the place, and retrieved the vehicle. On the approach of the police the rioters ran away. Crime No. 242/59 of Fort Police Station has been registered.

"At about 1 p.m. a State Transport Bus was stoned by some agitators at Hrishimangalam, in the city, causing it damages to the value of Rs. 50/-. Crime No. 221/59 of Puthenchantha Police Station has been registered.

"Quilon District.

"On the night 5/6-7-1959 some agitators entered the Departmental Lower Primary School, Paravoor, and threw out articles of furniture. Crime No. 98/59 has been registered in this connection.

"Alleppey District.

"Today at 9.35 a group of agitators who had assembled in front of Thiruvambady Government Upper Primary School, and an anti-agitation group, came to a clash. One woman of the anti-agitation group, and 4 persons from the agitation group received injuries, and have been admitted in the hospital. The incident has taken a communal colour, as the injured on the side is a Pulaya and those on the other are Muslims. Following this incident in the morning, 2 other incidents of assaults by Muslims on 2 persons were reported from the town area. At Kalavoor, 2 student leaders were assaulted by a group stated to be Communist sympathisers. Cases have been registered.

"Kottayam District.

"Groups of agitators, who picketed State Transport Bus at Kumaranalloor, Ettumanoor and Kuravilangad and attempted to deflate tyres of the vehicles were dispersed by cane charges by the Police.

"Ernakulam District.

"(a) Mr Parameswaran Nair, Municipal Chairman, Moovattupuzha, and one N.V. Pylee were surrounded by a batch of student agitators and were forced to give subscription to their funds. Crime No. 71/59 of Kothamangalam has been registered for dacoity.

"(b) A crowd of agitators on their way back after a meeting, pelted stones

on 5.7.59 at about 6.30 p.m. on certain Communists who were near their Party office at Vypeen Island, Cochin. The Communists pelted stones in return. 11 Communist and 3 agitators were injured. Crime Nos. 53 and 54/59 of Narakkal Station have been registered.

“Trichur District.

“(a) Information has been received that a tyre of a State Transport Express bus was punctured at 6.15 p.m. on 5.7.59 at Chembukavu, by a three-pointed iron piece which had been placed on the road.

“(b) A State Transport bus going towards Trichur was stopped by the agitators at Ankamali, in Vadakkancherry Police Station limits, at 5.30 p.m. today. Petrol was poured into the diesel tank, and it was then set fire to. Petrol alone burnt. The head lights and front glass of the bus were also broken by the agitators. Crime No. 100/59 of Vadakkancherry Police Station has been registered”.

18. Aruna Asaf Ali to Nehru³⁰

[Refer to item 94]

4, Jamna Bhavan,
Asaf Ali Road,
New Delhi -1
July 7, 1959.

My dear Jawaharlalji,

You wanted to know the other day whether I had any definite plans for engaging myself these days. Quite frankly, I am very much at sea. You must have guessed as much.

I had meant to concentrate on building up the Urban Community Development Projects of the Corporation this year, besides reorganising its Social Education Department. Above all, now that Government have delegated all authority to the Corporation for implementing slum clearance schemes I intended to take up this work in all earnestness.

The enclosed note was prepared with much care and will give you some idea of what needed to be done, if the unfortunate human beings living in these horrible dens are to be truly assisted. But, I doubt whether I can personally

30. Letter. File No. 17 (365)/59-61-PMS.

contribute my bit for initiating these schemes any longer. Even so, I will try to urge upon all our social welfare agencies (& in particular the Bharat Sevak Samaj) to give the Urban Community Development projects all the support they can. Government too I think should suggest to welfare organisations subsidised by it to co-operate with & identify themselves with this venture.

As things are, far too many people who while trying to do good are unable to do much. This is so because each group goes its own way & much energy and money is frittered away, for want of central direction and a rational approach. Coming back to myself, when you have the time, please advise me about how not to be a misfit everywhere!

With regards,

Yours affectionately,
Aruna Asaf Ali

19. N.R. Pillai to K.P.S. Menon³¹

[Refer to item 163]

No. 24301.

K.P.S. Menon from N.R. Pillai.

Prime Minister's letter 384-PMO/59 of June 30.³² Soviet credit.

2. We have now received B.K. Nehru's reply. He advises against publication of Khrushchev's letter and we agree with him.

3. He thinks however that it would be helpful in relation to prospects of American aid if an early announcement could be made to the effect that the Soviet Union has offered a fresh credit of 1,500 million roubles for projects in the Third Five Year Plan. It is important however that the impression should not be given that this is the final Soviet figure for the Third Plan. If the Soviet Government would be prepared to say that the amount stated is the first instalment of their aid for the Third Plan or that they would consider further credits later on, this would be ideal. He also suggests that a serious attempt should be made to get the Soviet Government to reconsider the terms of repayment. Acceptance of Bhilai terms, which are even less favourable than those for the 500 million rouble credit, would in his opinion be embarrassing.

31. Telegram, MEA to Indian Embassy, Moscow, 8 July 1959. File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS.

32. See Nehru to K.P.S. Menon, 30 June 1959, SWJN/SS/49/item 320.

4. I am sending you by bag today copies of B.K. Nehru's telegrams and a letter giving our views and suggestions. These will reach you on July 10 and we should be grateful if you would give the matter immediate attention.

20. B.K. Nehru to N.R. Pillai³³

[Refer to item 163]

No. 332.

N.R. Pillai from B.K. Nehru repeated K.P.S. Menon.

Your 2402 dated 8 July. I have following suggestions:-

(I) End of first sentence might be redrafted to read "discussion took place ... about the question of external assistance for India's economic development".

(II) In second sentence omit "timely and".

(III) In third sentence substitute "later" for "in the near future".

2. First amendment is suggested because we have consistently taken line with the West that there is as yet no Third Five Year Plan; there is at this stage therefore nothing to discuss with them and we will not discuss till our own minds are clear on the subject. Words as it stands may open us to the charge of discussing with the Soviets what we are not prepared to discuss with the West.

3. Omission of "timely" suggested as it sounds like a rebuke to the Americans and really adds nothing to the expression of our gratitude.

4. As indicated in my letter to you of 23rd June I feel that it would be advantageous to discuss repayment terms with the Soviets when our balance of payments picture is much clearer. This will take a long time and it is better not to raise hope with the Russians that we are ready to discuss straight away.

5. I am taking the liberty of repeating this to Moscow so that words may not be finalised till you have issued orders on my comments.

33. Telegram, Indian Embassy, Washington, D.C., to MEA, 8 July 1959; copied to Indian Embassy, Moscow. File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS.

21. Mahavir Tyagi to Nehru³⁴

[Refer to item 7]

नारायण निवास, मसूरी

9-7-59

प्रिय जवाहर लाल जी, बन्दे,
मैं Direct Taxes Administration Enquiry Committee के सिलसिले में मसूरी क्या आया कि पुरानी यादों ने पागल बना दिया। इत्फ़ाक़ से मेरे ठहरने का प्रबन्ध जिस मकान में किया गया (नारायण निवास) उसने फिर से पुराना जोश ताज़ा कर दिया। यहीं ठहरे थे भाई जी (पं. मोतीलाल नेहरू) अपने अन्तिम समय में।³⁵ आपको भी याद होगा कि जब आप और कमला भाभी³⁶ उनसे मिलने आये थे³⁷ और लौटते समय मैंने अपनी बेवकूफी से एक जलसा देहरादून में कर लिया था कि जिसमें कोतवाल 144 का नोटिस लेकर आ गया था कि जिस पर आपने यह लिख दिया था कि 'जलसे के बाद मिला कि जब मैं बोल चुका था।' रात को आपके चले जाने पर मसूरी से टेलीफ़ोन आया। कड़ी चिन्ता थी भाई जी को यह जानने की कि क्या-क्या हुआ। सब हाल सुनकर मुझे शाबाश कहा और पूछने लगे कि स्टेशन पर 'कितनी भीड़ थी और भीड़ में कमला को धक्का-उक्का तो नहीं लगा।' मेरे आँसू आ गये, शायद ही किसी बाप ने अपने बेटे को इतना प्यार किया हो कि जितना आपको किया गया है। इस घटना से पहले जब मैं जेल से छूट कर उनसे मिलने मसूरी गया तो कृष्णा³⁸ आँगन में रस्से पर कूद रही थी और भाई जी हकीम नाबीना³⁹ के साथ बरामदे में बैठे बातें कर रहे थे। आँखों पर पढ़ने का आधा चश्मा लगा था। मुझे देखते ही बोले 'मियाँ का ली दी सिर्फ़ एक बीवी थी, वही जेल चली गयी, अब क्या खाली हाथ हिलाते हुए जेल से लौटे हो।' फिर अन्दर के कमरे से एक बड़ा-सा लिफ़ाफ़ा लाये। उसी दिन उनके पास एक बहुत लम्बा-सा तार शिमले से आया था। मुझे वो तार पढ़ा कर बोले—देखते हो सरकारी मुलाज़िमों की देशभक्ति: टॉप सीक्रेट है, और न जाने कितने हिन्दू-मुसलमान तार बाबुओं के हाथ से निकला होगा। दस-पन्द्रह सफ़े का था। भाई जी उन दिनों केन्द्रीय असेम्बली में कांग्रेस पार्टी के नेता थे। उसी दिन वाइसरॉय⁴⁰ ने किसी फ़ाइल पर हस्ताक्षर किये थे कि जिसमें एक ऑर्डिनेंस जारी करने का प्रस्ताव था। उस प्रस्ताव के अनुसार कांग्रेस गैरक्रान्ती घोषित होने जा रही थी, साथ में यह भी था कि जो कांग्रेस में भाग लेता, या

34. Letter, 9 July 1959. Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund Papers, NMML. Original in Hindi.

35. Molilal Nehru went to Mussoorie after his discharge from Naini prison in September 1930 on account of bad health. He passed away in Lucknow on 6 February 1931.

36. Kamala Nehru.

37. Jawaharlal Nehru visited Mussoorie, 15-17 October 1930, after his release from Naini prison four days earlier.

38. Krishna Hutheesing.

39. Hakim Abdul Wahhab, also known as Hakim Nabina.

40. Lord Irwin.

कांग्रेस या कांग्रेस वाले को रुपये-पैसे की सहायता करता पकड़ा जायेगा उसकी सारी सम्पत्ति, जायदाद ज़ब्त कर ली जायेगी। इस तार में उस ऑर्डनेंस का सार था। उस घटना को याद करके मुझे लगता है कि स्वराज्य केवल हम कांग्रेस वालों ने ही नहीं लिया है, बल्कि इसमें उन लोगों का भी काफ़ी हाथ है कि जिन्होंने हृदय से देश की अमूक और गुप्त सेवाएँ की हैं। फिर आपकी और कमला भाभी की जो दो तस्वीरें दीवार पर टँगी थीं उनकी ओर इशारा करते हुए बोले, 'आनन्द भवन तो ज़ब्त हो जायेगा। मैंने हिदायत भेज दी है कि प्रयाग की रेती में एक झोंपड़ी बनाकर तैयार रखो। जब मोतीलाल अपनी इस औलाद के साथ और वो जो रस्सी पर फुदक रही है, उसकी उँगली पकड़कर बाज़ार में भीख माँगने निकलेगा तो इस ऑर्डनेंस के डर से बहुत-सी दुकानों पर से मोतीलाल का हाथ खाली लौटेगा,' यह कहते हुए उनकी आँखें डबडबा आयीं: उनके पास एक गर्म और नर्म हृदय था, वो तुम्हारी तरह वेमुख्यत नहीं थे : मैं परेशान हो गया। त्याग और तपस्या की वो पराकाष्ठा कि जो अन्तिम दिनों में मोतीलाल में थी वो केवल शमा पे कुर्बान होने वाले परवाने में मिलेगी और जगह नहीं है, मैं उम्र भर इस घटना को भूल नहीं सकता, क्योंकि इस घटना की याद ने मुझे अपने जीवन की संकटमय घड़ियों में सान्त्वना और सन्तोष प्रदान किया है। उनकी तिलमिलाहट देख कर मेरे भी आँसू आ गये और मेरे मुँह से निकल गया कि 'भाई जी, आप कैसी बातें करते हैं, मुझे तो यह सुनकर डर लगता है।' बोले, 'डर लगता है तो तुम घर बैठो। ऐसे आदमी का कांग्रेस में क्या काम। इससे हमें इतना लाभ होगा कि बाज़ार से भूखा लौटने पर तुम्हारे दरवाज़े पर तो दो रोटियाँ मिल जायेंगी।' यह बात मुझे तीर की तरह चीर गयी। मेरी हिचकी बँध गयी और खड़े होकर रोते-रोते मैंने कहा, 'बीमारी की वजह से आपका दिमाग खराब हो गया है भाई जी, क्या हिन्दुस्तान इस बात को बर्दाश्त कर सकता है! जिस दिन भीख माँगने निकलोगे भी, सारे देश में खून की नदियाँ बह जायेंगी। याद रखना मसूरी से देहरादून तक के रास्ते में गमलों की तरह कटी हुई अंग्रेज़ों की गर्दनें सजा दूँगा। आग लग जायेगी आग। आप हो किस होश में। अब यह देश ज़्यादा दिन जुल्म बर्दाश्त नहीं करेगा। अकेले कांग्रेस वाले ही नहीं, बल्कि मामूली-से-मामूली गाँव का बेपढ़ा मज़दूर भी आज देश भक्ति के रंग में रचा पड़ा है।' कैसे खुश हुए मेरी बौखलाहट को सुनकर, आप होते तो मेरा हाथ पकड़ कर कमरे से बाहर मुझे नीचे उतरने का ज़ीना दिखा देते। भाई जी ने हकीम नबीना से हँसते हुए कहा, 'इनकी तरह हज़ारों हैं कांग्रेस में, ऐसों की ताक़त पर चल रही है तहरीक—यह फ़ैल हो सकती है?' उन बेचारों को क्या पता था कि स्वराज्य हो जाने पर यही माई के लाल कांग्रेस को बेच खायेंगे और पदों के लालच में बहा देंगे सारी देशभक्ति पानी की तरह। मैं आपकी बहुत क्रोध करता हूँ आपको 39 वर्ष से जानता हूँ, आपके गुण-अवगुण से भी परिचित हूँ। यह भी जानता हूँ कि आप अप्रिय बात को बड़ी कठिनाई से भूल पाते हो, पर मैं आज आप को यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि अन्तिम दिनों में जो त्याग और बलिदान की भावना भाई जी के भीतर थी, हम और आप में उसको सौवाँ हिस्सा भी नहीं हैं, यों दुनिया को दिखाने को शेखी भले ही मार लें।

आजकल मैं बहुत खिन्न हूँ, और जिस तरह कांग्रेस का पतन हो रहा है वो मुझसे सहा नहीं जायेगा। इस पत्र में सब बात लिखना नहीं चाहता, पर टैक्स का पैसा बुरी तरह बरबाद हो रहा है और सिनेमा स्टार की तरह आपके दर्शनों को हज़ारों की भीड़ भले ही इकट्ठी हो जाय, पीठ

पीछे लोग हमें-आपको खुल्ली गालियाँ सुना रहे हैं। खुदा के लिए कुछ करो, जवाहरलाल जी। केरल का मामला हमें ले बैठेगा। इतिहास इस पतन के लिए आपको क्षमा नहीं करेगा। इस फ़जीते की टोकरी आप ही के सिर पर थोपी जायेगी। आप कान के कच्चे हो और व्यक्तिगत मुरब्बत में आकर उसूलों से हट जाते हो। शासन कार्य में बहुत-सी अप्रिय बातें करनी पड़ती हैं। क्षमा करना, तिलमिलाहट में लिख गया।

—महावीर त्यागी

इस किश्तिये हयात को ले जायँ किस तरफ़
नज़रों के सामने कोई साहिल नहीं रहा
हाथों में किस के सौंप दे हम ज़िन्दगी की डोर
कोई भी एतबार के क़ाबिल नहीं रहा।।

[Translation begins:

Narayan Nivas, Mussoorie
9-7-59

Dear Jawaharlalji,

Vande! My visit to Mussoorie with regard to the Direct Taxes Administration Enquiry Committee has raised old memories to the extent of unsettling me. Incidentally, the house where I have been put up (Narayan Nivas) has reinvigorated the old spirit. It was here that Bhaiji (Pandit Motilal Nehru) stayed during his last days.⁴¹ You must also remember that you and Kamala Bhabhi.⁴² Kamala Nehru. had come to visit him⁴³ and while you were on your way back I had committed the folly of organising a meeting in Dehradun where the Police came with a notice under section 144 on which you wrote, "Received after I had spoken." At night, after you left, Bhaiji called from Mussoorie. He was very anxious to know as to what all had happened. After listening to the entire story he bucked me up and asked, "How many people were at the station and whether or not Kamala suffered any buffets in the crowd." Tears came to my eyes; rarely has a father loved his son as much as you have been loved. Before this incident when I went to meet him at Mussoorie after being released from jail, Krishna⁴⁴ was rope-skipping in the courtyard and Bhaiji was sitting in the

41. Motilal Nehru went to Mussoorie after his discharge from Naini prison in September 1930 on account of bad health. He passed away in Lucknow on 6 February 1931.

42. Kamala Nehru.

43. Jawaharlal Nehru visited Mussoorie, 15-17 October 1930, after his release from Naini prison four days earlier.

44. Krishna Huthcesing.

verandah talking to Hakim Nabina.⁴⁵ He had reading glasses on his eyes. As soon as he saw me he said, "He had only one wife, when she also was sent to jail then what is the point in coming back from jail empty handed!" Then he went into the room and brought back a large envelope. That very day he had received a long telegram from Simla. He made me read that telegram and said, "Now you see the patriotism of Government servants; it is Top Secret. And, who knows through how many hands of Hindu and Muslim telegraph clerks it must have passed." It was ten or fifteen pages long. Bhaiji was the leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly. That very day, the Viceroy⁴⁶ had signed on some file in which there was a proposal to pass an ordinance. According to that proposal, the Congress was going to be declared illegal; in addition, whoever was found taking part in Congress activities, or helping Congress or Congressmen with money, would have his property and belongings confiscated. In the telegram there was a gist of that ordinance. When I recall that incident, I feel that Swarajya was achieved not just by us Congressmen, but there is much contribution in it from those people who served the country with all their heart silently and in secret. Then, pointing to the two photographs of you and Kamala Bhabhi on the wall, he said, "Anand Bhawan is bound to be confiscated. I have sent instruction that a hut should be put up and kept ready in Prayag. When Motilal will venture out in the bazaar to beg with this son and holding the finger of that little one skipping the rope, then he will return empty handed from many shops because of the fear of this ordinance." Uttering these words his eyes filled with tears. He was ardent and gentle and not inconsiderate like you. I became troubled at heart. The spirit of sacrifice and devotion that was there in Motilal in his last days can only be seen in the moth which sacrifices itself on the flame, nowhere else. I can never forget this incident all my life because the memory of this incident has provided me with solace and succour during the crisis-ridden moments of my life. Seeing his disturbed state tears welled up in my eyes also and I spoke out, "Bhaiji, why do you talk in this manner? I feel afraid merely listening to you." He said, "If you feel afraid you should sit at home. Such people have no place in the Congress. The advantage we will derive from this will be that on returning empty stomach from the bazaar we will get two pieces of bread at your door." These words struck me like an arrow. Tearful and choking, I cried out, "You have lost your senses because of your illness, Bhaiji. Can India bear this? The day you venture out to beg, rivers of blood will flow in the entire country. Make a note, I shall line up the road from Mussoorie to Dehradun with British heads like flower pots. There will be fire and brimstone

45. Hakim Abdul Wahhab.

46. Lord Irwin.

all around. Have you any idea of things! This country will not suffer injustice and oppression any more. Not only the Congressman but also the simple labourer in any village is today fully charged with patriotism..." How pleased he was to hear my confused diatribe. Had you been there, you would have shown me the door. Bhaiji laughed and said to Hakim Nabina, "There are thousands like him in the Congress. Can the movement fail which is running on the strength of such people?" How could these poor chaps know that after attaining Swarajya, these sons of the movement will betray the Congress and fritter away all patriotic spirit in their greed for positions. I respect you very much and have known you for 39 years. I am also aware of your qualities and shortcomings. I know that it is difficult for you to forget unpleasant things said to you; but I want to tell you today that in his final days Bhaiji was suffused with a spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion, not an iota of which you and I possess, though we may brag about it in public.

I am very morose these days and I shall not be able to bear the way the Congress is going downhill. I do not wish to write everything in this letter, but the taxpayers' money is being wasted left and right and although people may gather in their thousands to have a glimpse of you as with a cinema star, behind our backs, they abuse us outright. For God's sake do something, Jawaharlalji. This matter related to Kerala will drag us down. History will not forgive you for this downfall. The whole blame will be heaped upon your head. You are easily influenced and stray away from principles because of personal considerations. Governance entails doing many unpleasant things. Forgive me, being upset I have written all this.

Mahavir Tyagi

Is kishti-e-hayat ko le jayen kis taraf
Nazron ke samne koi sahil nahin raha
Hathon men kiske saunp den ham zindagi ki dor
Koi bhi eitbar ke qabil nahin raha

[In which direction should we take this ship of life?
There is no shore in sight
To whose hands should we entrust the thread of life
There is none worthy, such is our plight.]

Translation ends]

22. Krishna Kripalani to Nehru⁴⁷*[Refer to item 138]*Camp:- New York City
9 July 1959.Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
President, Sahitya Akademi.

[...] At a luncheon at the Yale Club in New York given for me to meet some of the leading publishers in this country, I was asked why English translations of good books in Indian languages are not made available for foreign readers. In my reply I explained that among other things the major difficulty was to find adequate translators who could effectively render the native idiom in the English language. I went on to say that my own limited experience has convinced me that adequate translations in English are possible only if an experienced English writer collaborates with the Indian translator. This seems to have impressed those present, for yesterday I was invited to lunch by the two top men in the Humanities Div. of the Rockefeller Foundation who told me that they were much impressed by my talk and would gladly consider sending a good English writer (with experience of translation work) to India to work under the auspices of the Sahitya Akademi and help the Akademi or even individual Indian authors to revise and improve rough drafts of English translation of Indian works. The expenses would be entirely met by the Rockefeller Foundation and the experiment could be made for a year in the first instance. I thanked them for the offer and said that I could not make any comments on it before referring it to our President. Personally I like the proposal very much and feel that it is the only working solution of the problem we have been facing. Apart from many translation projects which have been held up on this account, our immediate problem is to edit and revise the existing English translations (most of them indifferent) of a vast amount of Tagore's writings available in India and not published abroad before by Macmillans. The preparation and publication of such select writings of Tagore is one of the Major items in our Tagore Centenary programme in India. The Rockefeller proposal would help us effectively in this. If the President approves, I may pursue this matter further with the Foundation. If the Tagore Anthology is to come out in time, an English adviser and reviser must be made available to us in India this coming winter. Hence the need of a quick decision on our part.

President may kindly communicate his directions to me C/o the High Commission, London, as I am leaving this country on 18th July.

Krishna Kripalani

47. Letter. File No. 40 (7)/59-63-PMS, Vol. I. Excerpts.

23. B.C. Roy to Nehru⁴⁸

[Refer to item 112]

Calcutta

The 9th July, 1959

My dear Jawaharlal,

I am enclosing a scheme for the production of fertilizer from coke oven gas.

As you are aware, we have asked for the establishment of a second Coke Oven Plant in order to augment our supply of coke oven gas for this purpose. We have also approached the Durgapur Steel Plant for a supply of surplus coke oven gas. We want a quantity of fertilizer for this State which will need all the surplus gas of Durgapur Steel Factory and of the second Coke Oven Plant.

As will be seen in this report, the Durgapur Steel Plant has got an excess quantity of about 1962 million cft of coke oven gas which we want to utilise for the purpose of producing fertilizer. Possibly 4 or 5 million cft of gas may be obtained from our Coke Oven Plant and another 16 million cft of gas from the second Coke Oven Plant.

We have in West Bengal 11 million acres of paddy land and the total arable land in West Bengal, including plantations, is 15.5 million acres. We will start with supply of fertilizer to the 11 million acres, which are under paddy, and we estimate that this will require about 1,43,000 tons of nitrogen per annum on a rough estimate. Our proposal is to produce in the first instance 75,000 tons of nitrogen per annum in West Bengal so that we might be able to cover about half of the total requirement of nitrogen in West Bengal. When the second Coke Oven Plant is functioning, we may produce all the quantity of fertilizer needed.

It will be seen that for the soil of Bengal, best fertilizers would be Urea and Ammonium Nitrate. Urea has a distinct advantage in as much as it is comparatively lighter, considering its nitrogen content, and it is very easy for transport to different parts of Bengal where transport difficulties are great. It is expected that the remaining quantity of manure necessary in the near future might be provided by green manure and other types of manure.

It is proposed to float a small company under the Durgapur Industries Board which is soon going to be converted into a Public Limited Company. In this subsidiary company, the Hindustan Steel will be a shareholder. At present the Hindustan Steel has agreed to give to the D.V.C. coke oven gas at the rate of six annas per thousand cft. We have provided in our scheme for payment to the Hindustan Steel a sum of twelve annas per thousand cft. This means that

48. Letter. File No. 17 (361)/59-61-PMS.

the Hindusthan Steel will get an extra Rs. 25 lakhs a year as compared to the rate proposed for the D.V.C. on the other hand, the D.V.C. can easily use coal instead of gas for their Thermal Plant which they are putting up near the Hindusthan Steel. I think they can use coal of even low quality. This Thermal Plant has been designed to be worked with coal.

As will appear from the report, the total cost of this plant would be about Rs. 20 crores, of which the foreign exchange component will be about 10 crores. According to our estimates, the total profits from the products of this plant would be about 3 crores a year, so that roughly speaking, within 8 to 10 years we would be able to pay back the entire sum invested, including interest.

So far as the foreign exchange is concerned which will be in the neighbourhood of about Rs. 10 crores, we can approach foreign countries for loan and I think it would be easily available. On the other hand, it is possible to make arrangements with the suppliers for not insisting upon taking any payment before the beginning of the Third Five Year Plan.

It is understood that there is in the Fertilizer Development Fund a sum of about Rs 20 crores for 4 fertilizer plants in four different areas of India, one of which should be allotted to West Bengal. This amount of Rs. 5 crores should be sufficient to begin the work with. Meanwhile, we can arrange for a loan from a foreign country and we can borrow the remainder by floating a loan here from the market. The Durgapur Company can easily do so if the Government agrees to stand surety for it.

I want this matter to be taken up very urgently. Every year we spend between 8 to 9 crores in relief measures. Apart from the fact that such a huge sum has to be spared every year from Government funds, it is in a sense demoralising to find people wanting to get relief from Government because of our deficit in food production. I am convinced that this State must produce 10 lakh tons more of foodgrains within the next four or five years. If we want to reach that target, one of the most essential pre-requisites is that fertilizer must be available in sufficient quantity. It has been our experience that the River Valley Projects which supply water to different areas are not capable of giving full results we expect from them, because the areas irrigated are not supplied with sufficient quantities of fertiliser of the right type. Hence there has been rather a continuous shortfall in production in this State which we must get over.

I want you to give your immediate attention to this scheme.

Yours affectionately,
B.C. Boy

24. Rajeshwar Dayal to Nehru⁴⁹

[Refer to item 151]

No. 229.

Prime Minister from Rajeshwar Dayal. Personal.

1. I have just called at the Foreign Office in response to Ikramullah's urgent request. Ikramullah said he wished to tell me about a proposition which he and Manzur Qadir had been discussing regarding possibility of President Ayub Khan making a brief halt at Delhi in order to pay a courtesy call on you when he visits Dacca towards the end of this month. Ikramullah immediately thereafter took me to Qadir who explained his ideas more fully.

2. Qadir said that the President was sincerely anxious to develop good relations with India and had for sometime been considering the possibility of meeting the Prime Minister and had asked Qadir to suggest a suitable opportunity. It had occurred to Qadir and Ikramullah that such an opportunity could be provided by a stop over at Delhi to enable Prime Minister and President to meet. Qadir said the President was most anxious to make a gesture of friendliness, which he hoped would pave the way for better relations. Qadir said that he had not yet mentioned this idea to the President, but he was certain that he would agree to anything that was arranged in view of his anxiety to meet the Prime Minister. The visit could be in the nature of a courtesy call.

3. I said the question of timing was an important one, and I mentioned the recrudescence of border incidents and the recent unfortunate statement by the President. Qadir explained that the President had to make it for internal consumption as he could not entirely break away from public sentiments in the matter, but he thought that fewer statements were now being made and their tone also was more moderate. I expressed a different view, but Qadir insisted that a direct meeting would help to eliminate such sources of irritation. I said that it should be borne in mind that any meeting however casual it might appear would arouse hopes all around and it might do more harm than good if those hopes were frustrated. A high level meeting to be useful should result in some positive achievements. Qadir expressed confidence that a meeting would lead to beneficial results, and he considered it important that direct contacts should be established. He asked about your programme and I said that you were going to Simla for some ten days and would have a heavy programme of engagements on your return.

49. Telegram, Indian High Commission, Karachi, to MEA, 9 July 1959.

4. The President plans to leave for Dacca on 26th July for a week's stay and Qadir suggested that the meeting could take place either on the President's outward or return trip.

5. I was rather taken aback by this frontal approach to a difficult and delicate matter, and while offering no encouragement, I pointed to the difficulties in order to draw Qadir out. Qadir was quite forthright in his replies and kept reporting that direct contact between the President and Prime Minister could do nothing but good to our mutual relations, since Ayub Khan unlike his predecessors, was in a position to make and implement agreements.

6. On balance, I feel that it would be difficult to refuse a request to pay a courtesy call and a direct approach may well reduce some of the present sources of tension. I shall avoid any reference to this matter should Qadir ask me about it till I receive your instructions.

25. MEA to the Indian Embassy, Peking⁵⁰

[Refer to item 156]

No. 3548.

Eversince the present disturbances in Tibet we have received reports from our Consul General and Trade Agencies of various difficulties placed in the functioning of our posts and the legitimate activities of our traders, pilgrims and nationals. Some of these difficulties have been brought to the attention of the Chinese authorities either by posts concerned or by the Consulate General. In some instances we have raised the matter with the Chinese Embassy here. Record of conversations between Mehta and the Chinese Counsellor on 3rd June forwarded to you with D.O. No. 1 (45) BST/59 dated 5th June refers. Yesterday another informal Note listing difficulties and harassment suffered by our posts and our nationals has been presented, copy being forwarded to you by bag. Meanwhile there are one or two matters which we consider sufficiently serious for you to raise immediately with the Chinese Government.

(i) Indian nationals in Tibet. Large number of our nationals especially Ladakhi Lamas and Muslims have been resident in Tibet region mostly from period before conclusion of 54 Agreement. Since previously travel between Ladakh and Tibet was free, they possess no travel papers or identity certificates. Although they have been earning their living locally or been attached to

50. Telegram, 9 July 1959, copied to the Political Officer of India, Sikkim, at Gangtok and the Consul General of India at Lhasa for information.

monasteries for years they have traditionally been treated as foreigners. Most of the Muslims were traders. According to Kushak Bakula between 4 and 6 hundred Lamas who travelled as pilgrims before and after the Agreement were studying in Tibetan Monasteries. Upto the time of recent disturbances no local regulations were prescribed requiring registration or any special identity certificates. There were indications that local authorities were refusing to treat these persons as Indians despite their origin. We urged through a Note presented by our Consulate General to Foreign Bureau in Lhasa in the middle of May that these persons must be treated as Indian nationals and permitted to leave if they so wish. Recent reports show that Chinese are again trying to persuade these persons to declare themselves as Chinese nationals on the ground that they did not register with the Consulate previously. They have hinted foreign nationals would be liable to severe consequences if they do not possess duly visaed passports. Since there has been no prescription for passports for Tibet region, we did not issue passports in the past. In view of the present Chinese attitude we would be prepared to do so but there is no assurance that Chinese will give visas and therefore regularise their present stay either to carry on their vocations or return to India.

Grateful if you would take up the matter with the Chinese urging either the status quo prior to 10th March should be maintained or if they require foreign nationals to possess passports to tell us definitely so that we can arrange issue of passports. In latter case we trust no impediments will be placed in their obtaining visas or in their registering with our Consulate General.

(ii) Gyantse. As you know at last Chinese have given permission in principle to commence re-construction of our Trade Agency. Assistant Engineer has proceeded to Gyantse and Additional Chief Engineer will shortly follow. Meanwhile, Trade Agent reports that all manner of difficulties are being placed in proceeding with the construction. In the last fortnight on two occasions firing practice has been carried out on our site presumably to frighten the labour. No transport yet provided. In yesterday's Note to Chinese Embassy we have urged helpful cooperation from them. Grateful if you would reiterate this.

We have also stressed that Chinese Missions and posts and Chinese nationals in India enjoy complete freedom for functioning and movement etc.

26. K.P.S. Menon to N.R. Pillai⁵¹*[Refer to item 163]*

No. 160.

N.R. Pillai from K.P.S. Menon.

Your telegram No. 24301 and letter dated 8th July. Soviet Credit.

2. Shall discuss proposed announcement with Soviet authorities on lines indicated by you after modifications suggested by B.K. Nehru have been approved.

3. Entirely agree with you that B.K. Nehru's visit to Moscow should not repeat not be delayed. He is best fitted to explain our position regarding repayment terms. Khrushchev is wrong in saying I asked for repayment terms for credit towards the Third Five Year Plan on lines of Bhilai. He must have been thinking of our request in connection with oil and pharmaceutical project, for which the period of repayment, originally prescribed by Soviet Government, was much shorter.

27. B.N. Datar to MHA⁵²*[Refer to item 127]*

A few weeks ago, JS (P) saw me and handed over this file to me. He desired that inasmuch as Shri B.R. Nanda had asked for permission to consult our pre-1932 records for the purpose of writing a biography of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, I might explain personally to the Prime Minister the position, as it existed now, under the rules made by us, as a result of a discussion with the Ministry of Education in 1956.

2. I saw the Prime Minister day before yesterday and discussed this matter in full details with him. I also showed to him the relevant files.

3. He was of the opinion that our rules were arbitrary and that we ought to approach all such requests with a more constructive attitude.

4. Be then told me that he would put down a minute in this respect for the guidance of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

51. Telegram, Indian Embassy, Moscow, to MEA, 10 July 1959. File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS.

52. Note to the Home Secretary, and JS (P), MHA, 10 July 1959. File No. 57/79/59-Poll (I), MHA.

5. I left this file with him, and received yesterday from his Secretariat, a detailed minute of the Prime Minister himself on this question.

6. It will be seen therefrom that the Prime Minister does not at all approve of our rules in this respect. Though I told him why the date 1916 had been fixed for papers, not to be shown after that date, he remained entirely unconvinced.

7. Under the circumstances, it is in my opinion necessary to carry out his orders as they have been embodied in his above minute of 8.7.59 in so far as Shri Nanda's request is concerned.

8. We might, therefore, show to Shri B.R. Nanda such papers as he desires to see or consult for preparing the biography of the Prime Minister's distinguished father, the late Pt. Motilal Nehru, subject to the restrictions, laid down in para 3 of the Prime Minister's minute.

9. The Prime Minister also told me that he was not in favour of Shri Nanda's being allowed "to take excerpts from time to time without any security restrictions" as mentioned in the letter from the Prime Minister's Secretariat at PUC.

10. We might thereafter consider the larger question of the revision of these rules on the lines suggested by the Prime Minister. He desires a drastic revision of them. He has pointed out that he would like to go into this matter again in the future, as he was interested in it as President of the Sahitya Akademi.

11. After a full examination of the present rules, we might put up our proposal before the Prime Minister, and only then should our rules be finalised on the lines that he might then suggest.

28. R.K. Nehru to Subimal Dutt⁵³

[Refer to item 174]

Embassy of India
Cairo

July 12th, 1959

My dear Foreign Secretary,

The Libyan Ambassador, who is an ex-Foreign Minister of Libya, called on me yesterday for a talk about Israel. He said that members of the Arab League have been receiving memoranda and pamphlets about India's attitude towards Israel. Their desire for India's support is so great that they are anxious that the facts

53. Letter. File No. 11 (12)-WANA/59, MEA.

should be clarified.

2. The facts, as stated by the Ambassador, were mostly about visits of Indian M.Ps and others to Israel, the activities of the Israeli Consul in Bombay and other similar matters. The Ambassador said that they are well aware that some countries are interested in creating discord between India and the Arab world. In the case of any other country, they would not take notice of such reports, but India holds a special position and there is a keen desire in all Arab states that the Arab attitude should be understood by India and that they should have India's continued support.

3. I said that we understood the Arab attitude and I also explained our own attitude. I am writing about this in some detail so that the Ministry may know the line I am taking in such talks. I pointed out to the Ambassador that India, like other countries, has its own political system. There is freedom of expression, etc., and some Indians, in their individual capacity, may have visited Israel, or shown their sympathy for Israel. However, there must be many others who can have little sympathy for a state which follows the principle of religious exclusiveness. India's approach to this question is well known and my personal view is that to the extent that secularism and other progressive trends continue to develop in the Arab states, there will be greater sympathy for the Arab states among the Indian people.

4. I then said that what our Arab friends should be concerned about is not so much the attitude of individual Indians as the attitude of the Government of India. In explaining the Government of India's attitude, I made the following points:- (a) we realise that Israel's background – the way it was created and the way it has functioned – has violated Arab sentiment; (b) because of our respect for Arab sentiment and for other reasons, we have not exchanged diplomatic missions with Israel; (c) however, recognition has been accorded as Israel's existence cannot be ignored and it is a member of the United Nations; (d) it is in the interest of the Arabs themselves that a settlement should be reached with Israel as conflict etc. is creating instability and is coming in the way of Arab progress; (e) a settlement, in our view, is being impeded by lack of unity among the Arab States; (f) there has been some tendency – I mentioned this as a personal view – for each state to outbid the other in its opposition to Israel; (g) Israel has exploited Arab disunity which seems to have created some difficulties for the Arab states; (h) apart from a greater measure of unity, a settlement will also be facilitated by economic development on an all-Arab basis, as this may provide new opportunities for the Arab refugees; and (i) a peaceful settlement is essential and although the time for a settlement may be not yet, every effort should be made on both sides to avoid incidents and to show greater moderation so that the situation may not be aggravated.

5. I said there is no change in the Government of India's attitude and Arab opinion should not be misled by hostile propaganda. Practically every important country has exchanged diplomatic missions with Israel. India has not because of its respect for Arab sentiment. However, India as well as some Arab countries has trade relations and other forms of collaboration with certain countries which they do not recognize. Therefore, if the Government of India, or individual Indians, show some interest in Israel's development plans, or experts are sent to study some aspects of development, this should not create any misunderstanding. Our political attitude is clear and it sometimes causes irritation in India, as I noticed during my last visit, if there are repeated enquiries about India's attitude.

6. I spoke to the Ambassador quite frankly. He said he was glad I had done so and he would write to his Government and speak to the other Arab Ambassadors. He also said that everyone knows that Israel is making a great effort to cultivate closer relations with Asian countries. There is special emphasis on relations with India and great publicity is given to visits by Indians and other similar matters. Some other countries – he did not mention Pakistan by name – have adopted the practice of supplying this information to members of the Arab League. This is usually done in such a way as to convey the impression that India's attitude is changing and her sympathy for the Arabs is on the decline.

7. This morning I called on Hassouna, Secretary-General of the Arab League. I spoke to him about my talk with the Libyan Ambassador. Hassouna is an old friend of mine and he confirmed that a good deal of propaganda is going on. There is no real misunderstanding, however, he said, and the Arab States are grateful for India's support. Nevertheless, the Arab League is anxious to explain Arab problems to the Indian public. This would be done in moderate terms and there is no intention to enter into a controversy with the Israelis on Indian soil. The League is an inter-governmental organization of the United Nations and it has offices in several countries. Last year, a proposal was made that an office should be opened in France, although many Arab States do not have relations with France. However, every Arab representative present in the meeting agreed that India is a more important country and the League should have an office there.

8. Hassouna said that he took up this question with my predecessor, but received no encouragement. He asked for my reactions and I said that I would consult the Government of India. I think it is desirable that the Arab League should be given facilities to open an office, preferably in Delhi. The main function of the office will be to give information about problems of common interest to the Arab States. As an inter-governmental organisation, I suppose the League is

entitled to such facilities in a great neighbouring country. If it can have an office in the U.S.A., surely we too should give similar facilities.

9. I would strongly recommend, therefore, that the opening of an office may be agreed to in principle. We should of course make it clear that we would not like any hostile propaganda to be directed against any country. The office will have to confine itself to explaining Arab problems in general and the efforts which are being made under the auspices of the League to promote inter-Arab cooperation. This is a matter of some interest to India as peaceful cooperation among the Arab States will not only help to promote stability and progress in this area, but also create a suitable atmosphere for an eventual settlement with Israel.

10. I think you will be interested to know that when I was in India, P.M. asked me to have a talk with a man called Divon who is an adviser to Ben Gurion. I am not giving details of our talk which were more or less on the lines of my talk with the Libyan Ambassador. Divon started off by making some contemptuous remarks about the Arab States, but in the end he said that he agreed with my analysis, more particularly the fact that Arab disunity is coming in the way of a settlement and to the extent that peaceful co-operation increases among the Arab States, the chances of a settlement might become brighter. He said that he would place my views before Ben Gurion and he was particularly anxious that I should visit Israel! I suggest that you meet Divon, if you have not done so already.

11. I shall be grateful for an early reply to the suggestion I have made for giving facilities to the Arab League to open an office in Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
R.K. Nehru

29. Ernesto Guevara to Nehru⁵⁴

[Refer to item 179]

The Great Eastern Hotel Ltd.
Calcutta-1
July 12, 1959.

To the Prime Minister of India:

Being aware of the terrible havoc occurred in Kashmir, and willingful to offer its solidarity to the brother people and Government of India, we wish to place

54. Letter. File No. 21 (3)-AMS/59, MEA.

TELEGRAMS
"GREASTERN" CALCUTTA
TELEPHONES
23-2331 (12 LINES)

THE GREAT EASTERN HOTEL LD.
CALCUTTA-1

Calcutta,
July 12, 1959.

To the Prime Minister of India:

Being aware of the terrible havoc occurred in Kashmir, and willingful to offer its solidarity to the brother people and Government of India, we wish to place to your disposal the cooperation of our people, to the extent it is possible for us, in order to aliviate the Kashmir people.

We are in a condition to offer our contribution in sugar and medicines,

We beg to the Prime Minister of India that, should he consider favorably our offer, to advise his ambassador in Washington so that he gets in contact with our ambassador in that Country and inform him about the matter.

We take this opportunity to thank you for all the hospitality we have received while our stay in India, and to state again the feeling of brotherhood of our people towards the people you conduct.

Most respectfully,

CUBAN DELEGATION

Major Ernesto Guevara-Chief



(FROM FILE NO. 21(3)-AMS/59, MEA)

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Most respectfully,
CUBAN DELEGATION
Major Ernesto Guevara – Chief
Che

30. Swaran Singh to Nehru⁵⁵

[Refer to item 113]

July 16, 1959.

My dear Jawaharlalji,

[...]

The report has already been discussed generally with the Planning Commission. We are also examining it in detail. While our steel plans must essentially be based on the expansion of our large plants and putting up new large plants for which we are deliberately setting up a machine-making plant in Ranchi, it is quite clear that there is also scope for some small plants in areas where there is iron ore, although there is no coking coal nearby, e.g. Rajasthan, Karnatak. In Madras, something bigger can be attempted, if – as we are fairly certain – the lignite proves suitable for the smelting of iron. You will remember that small plants do not represent a totally new development. Two or three years ago, we gave licences to some parties to put up low shaft furnaces of a capacity of about 15000 tons a year. One furnace has been already completed in Coimbatore and another in Orissa is about to go into production. A low shaft experimental furnace is already working in Jamshedpur under the control of the National Metallurgical Laboratory. I think there is room for half a dozen more blast furnaces. Whether it should be of the low shaft type or of the Chinese type,

55. Letter. File No. 17 (362)/59-PMS. Excerpts.

will depend on local conditions. The pig iron from such furnaces should be of reasonably good quality for ordinary purposes.

The picture about steel is somewhat different. In China, the choice of the small converter has been made mainly because there is very little scrap available. But in India we have more scrap and so we can adopt better processes for making steel with scrap or with a combination of pig iron and scrap. You will also remember that the Cabinet has already approved of my proposal to license a number of small electric furnaces for steel making. On schemes already approved about 200,000 tons will be produced annually from about 20 furnaces.

Our present thinking is that during the Third Plan we should set apart about 250,000 tons out of the target of 4 million tons of additional production, for manufacture in small units.

Yours sincerely,
Swaran Singh

31. B.K. Nehru to N.R. Pillai⁵⁶

[Refer to item 163]

No. 343.

N.R. Pillai from B.K. Nehru.

Your telegram No. 24303 July 14 and Menon's 163 July 16th. Soviet Credit.

2. I feel earliest I can leave here is about 10th August because I should like

(a) to see Kennedy Resolution and Congress Committee proposals in reasonable shape before departure and

(b) to settle in principle amount and heads of new DLF credit for current year – my absence might affect the figures substantially.

3. The negotiations with the Soviet involve policy considerations of importance. Basic position is that the Rupees 2500 crores we want will be partly in "hard" i.e. repayable loans such as those from World Bank USSR, UK etc. and partly in "soft" loans i.e. which are only technically repayable of which the only present source is American Development Loan Fund. Our capacity to service hard debt over next 15 years or so is exceedingly limited. If a substantial part of this payment is earmarked for Soviet our ability to get hard loan from

56. Telegram, Indian Embassy, Washington D.C., to MEA, 17 July 1959, copied to Indian Embassy, Moscow, for K.P.S. Menon. File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS.

other sources is pro tanto decreased. Not only this but there is clear danger also of a reduction in soft loans (and therefore in totality of money available) as West wants a certain proportion maintained between their hard and soft money.

4. Objective of negotiation must therefore be to "soft" Russian loan as much as possible either by increasing period of loan or arranging now repayment in Indian commodities which are either surplus today or whose production we can increase without much difficulty and which Russians want. I request a reference to my letter of 23rd June.

5. None of these is going to be easy because what we are really seeking to do is to alter the whole pattern of Russian aid. We must, therefore be prepared to present not only our own side of the picture but also have concrete proposals on the trade side to be able to meet Russian demand. I feel that I cannot do this without working out permutations and combinations with Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Commerce and Industry and obtaining clear Government orders on what I may or may not do. I should therefore like to spend a fortnight in Delhi before going to Moscow and to be accompanied by Commerce Ministry representative on my visit.

6. If you agree earliest date of commencement of negotiations can only be about 1st September which does not seem to be late considering the magnitude of the issue involved. I frankly feel that a preliminary visit to Moscow without briefing will not serve useful purpose. Request orders on (a) date and (b) visit to India.

7. As for date of publication of communiqué 26th July or even a few days later would be quite suitable from my point of view.

32. Sri Krishna Sinha to Nehru⁵⁷

[Refer to item 104]

The people of Bihar are full of gratitude for the special interest which you have kindly taken in the Gandak Project. The reference to the Project in the communiqué issued after your visit to Nepal⁵⁸ has raised high hopes that the formal Agreement between the two countries for starting work on the Project will be reached very soon.

57. Letter, 17 July 1959, sent from Patna. File No. 17 (366)/59-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

58. Nehru visited Nepal, 11-14 June 1959; for the joint communiqué by the Prime Ministers of India and Nepal, see SWJN/SS/49/item 287.

I have just seen the revised draft Agreement which was sent on the occasion of your visit by the I & P Ministry to the Ambassador. This contains many changes from the previous draft approved by the Govt of India which must have been used in earlier negotiations. I am not sure as to how far it is practicable or desirable to go back on the earlier terms. Living on the border of Nepal, I cannot but get some first-hand information of the developments in the country and the problems of the new Ministry. A pointed agitation against the Gandak Agreement has been started by the two ex-Prime Ministers of Nepal and the leader of the Communist Party in the name of abrogation of the Nepal Government's sovereign rights and extension of India's share of influence. By all accounts, the Ministry appears to be prepared to sign the Agreement but we have to take good care that their position is not compromised in public estimate. They can deal with the opposition only if they are able to explain that the Agreement ensures all legitimate benefits for the people of Nepal and does not otherwise prejudice the interest of their country. No other basis, as you have so often expounded, can form a satisfactory permanent working arrangement between two countries.

My suggestion, therefore, will be that we should not bring in too many changes and confine the scope of revision to only one or two basic points which are necessary for safeguarding the future of the Project. A little extra financial concession here and there does not very much matter. You will be surprised to know that the value of the concessions promised for Nepal in the context of the Gandak Agreement is smaller than those offered at the time of the signing of the Kosi Agreement in 1954. The comparison becomes more poignant when we take into consideration the fact that the Kosi Agreement has been greatly disliked in Nepal. Luckily, the Gandak Project, unlike Kosi, is directly very paying and it would be possible for the project to bear the burden of such liabilities which are accepted by the Government of India on account of benefits and other terms for Nepal. In official communications from this State, commitments to this effect have been made.

I am anxious and my anxiety is shared by all Ministers, legislators and the people of Bihar that the ground which has been gained for the Project as a result of your visit to Nepal should not be lost. The terms of Agreement which we propose to offer should, therefore, get reframed in a manner which would facilitate their early acceptance by the Government of Nepal. The pros and cons of the different issues are known to the Ministries as also our point of view. The only question is of approach and if a general directive is given by you as to how the matter is to be processed, I have every hope that this protracted agreement will be concluded very soon.

33. E.M.S. Namboodiripad to Nehru⁵⁹

[Refer to items 27 and 37]

"I am herewith enclosing a copy of the resolution adopted by the National Council of our Party on the present situation in Kerala and the way out. I am sure it will give you an idea of how the minds of our leading comrades coming from all parts of the country are working.

I do not want to add anything to it except to say that I reported to them on my talks with you and explained how, according to you, the problem should not be looked at from a legalistic or short-term point of view but from the long-term political point of view. It was precisely from this long-term political point of view that the Council considered the question and expressed its opinion that the proposed mid-term elections would not offer any real solution to the problem. The Council felt that, if a mid-term election is now forced on this single non-Congress governed State in the country, the impression is likely to get strengthened that, if in future the electorate of any State returns the Communist Party itself or some other non-Congress Party to power, then too that Government will be subjected to the direct action on the same lines as was launched in Kerala now.

The National Council particularly noted the fact that, despite your statements and the resolution of the Congress Parliamentary Board which totally disapproved of school and transport bus picketing and put limitations on the picketing of Government offices, the campaign of picketing is going on without the restrictions publicly imposed on them by you. How is it that the All-India Congress leadership is not taking effective steps to stop those forms of action which they themselves have openly disapproved – this is the question unanimously asked by all the members. Some of them even doubt whether a section of the all-India leadership is not still giving encouragement to those who continue those very forms of action which the leadership as a whole disapproves; some others are more generous and would attribute it to the inability of the leadership to enforce its will on the Pradesh Congress leaders. In either case, the feeling is very strong that the Congress High Command is, by its present attitude, strengthening the dangerous trends manifested in the Pradesh Congress leadership.

The whole National Council held the view that unless the High Command adopts a firm policy of discouraging those trends, the impression will grow

59. Letter, 17 July 1959, sent from Trivandrum.

that, wherever the Congress is reduced to a minority and has to function as an opposition, it will be allowed, as it is now being allowed in Kerala, to resort to unconstitutional methods. It is this feeling of the National Council that is given expression to in the resolution."

34. Durgabai Deshmukh to Nehru⁶⁰

[Refer to item 91]

Central Social Welfare Board

New Delhi
Camp: Madras
18th July, 1959

My dear Panditji,

You would have received a copy of a note which I sent to Shri V.T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, about the harm done by the indiscriminate reports in the Press on the Evaluation Report on the Central Social Welfare Board's Welfare Extension Projects, which the Programme Evaluation Organisation hastily published without discussing it with the Planning Commission and the CSWB.

I cannot but emphasise my feeling that the Planning Commission has treated the whole matter of this evaluation with some degree of indifference from the beginning. We had asked that the evaluation should be entrusted to a team of experienced persons, but no respect was paid to this request, and the work was entrusted to one person who had no great experience about the kind of work to be evaluated. We had also asked that the terms of reference should be clearly laid down, but this does not appear to have been done. It is clear that in several respects the evaluation report has exceeded the terms of reference as the Board had wanted the Planning Commission to give to the Evaluation Team. The third important respect in which a measure of indifference is evident is the indiscreet manner in which the whole report was published and released to the Press without a final discussion either with the Planning Commission or with the CSWB, at least with a view to checking up facts.

Because of these steps, there is not denying that irreparable harm has been done to a devoted body of social workers, as also to the cause of social welfare. I think it is time that the Planning Commission considered this question as one of policy at least for the future, so as to avoid a repetition of this. In all

60. Letter. File No. 17 (19)/57-60-PMS.

such matters of evaluation, it is necessary for the Planning Commission to decide whether a proper team of suitably qualified persons should be selected for each assignment and whether there should be a preliminary discussion with the body in charge of the programme evaluated before the report is published, I shall be grateful if you would get the Planning Commission to consider this as a specific issue.

So far as this particular evaluation is concerned, the entire body of unpaid voluntary workers which forms the CSWB's organisation throughout the country has been so completely discouraged, both by the report and by the manner in which matters have been represented in the Press, that it is unwilling to continue with this thankless work. I too have become thoroughly disillusioned, and have lost both my conviction in being able to carry on in the teeth of un-informed criticisms and my faith to carry this conviction to all the other selfless workers of this organisation. It is, therefore, only proper that I should now ask to be relieved of this responsibility. You are aware, perhaps, that the next reconstitution of the CSWB is due on the 13th August 1959. I shall be grateful if this resignation of mine is accepted before then.

I am also writing to Dr. Shrimali, Minister of Education, and a copy of my letter to him is enclosed for your information.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Durgabai Deshmukh

35. M.C. Chagla to Nehru⁶¹

[Refer to item 143]

Embassy of India
Washington, D.C.
18 July 1959

My dear Panditji,

Thank you for your letter of the 3rd July. After what Mrs Dorothy Norman⁶² had told me about the oral contraceptive evolved by Dr. Pincus, I was shocked to read the report of Col. Raina. I entirely agree with you that we cannot possibly permit our Indian women to be made the guinea-pigs for experiment

61. Letter. File No. 28 (68)/60-71-PMS.

62. Dorothy Norman worked with the Planned Parenthood Association in the USA.

by Dr. Pincus. I am taking the liberty of sending to Mrs. Norman a copy of Col. Raina's report so that she should know what the real position is. I have asked Mrs. Norman to treat this note as strictly confidential.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M.C. Chagla

36. V.R. Krishna Iyer to Nehru⁶³

[Refer to items 29-34]

Kerala Congress adopts hostile policy regarding food production. My appeal ignored by Congress leaders. More catastrophic is Kuttanad landholders organisations decision not to cultivate. Entire Kuttanad area Kerala's granary [sic] lakh twenty thousand acres affected. Congress Legislator Thomas John presented memorandum before Governor for removal Communist Ministry as precondition rice cultivation Kuttanad. Farmers affected by ceiling provisions land legislation threaten anti rice production. Such threat is anti-national. Pray don't permit perverted means for attaining political ends. Raise your powerful voice against anti-national no rice production attitude.

37. E.M.S. Namboodiripad to Nehru⁶⁴

[Refer to items 29 and 37]

I am writing this to draw your attention to a very serious development – the decision of some organisations of big landlords in the Kuttanad area not to have their lands cultivated during this season. You probably know that this is an area which is normally waterlogged and where agricultural operations have to be performed after a good deal of strenuous dewatering operation. The area comes to nearly a lakh and half acres and should normally produce one lakh of tons of clean rice. It is this that they threaten to cut off in this period of acute food scarcity.

These very landlords had threatened to do this in 1957 when our Government was formed. Their demand then was for police protection and for certain

63. Telegram, 20 July 1959, sent from Trivandrum.

64. Letter, 20 July 1959, sent from Trivandrum.

additional concessions in the matter of pumping subsidies, seeds, etc. We gave these concessions and the situation was averted for the year.

Again, in 1958, they repeated their demand and again it was settled.

In the course of these two seasons, the extent of Governmental concessions given to them was almost doubled.

This year, however, they would not be satisfied with any concessions. What they demand is nothing less than "resignation or removal" of our Government! They would not cultivate their lands so long as this Govt remains in office!

This decision of theirs will obviously raise certain problems. The legal aspects of how to deal with these problems are being examined; and I am sure that, politically speaking, the overwhelming majority of our people, not only in the Kuttanad area but in the whole State, would condemn this callous attitude of a handful of big landlords. We are, therefore, confident of meeting this situation. I am, however, drawing your attention to it in order that you may use your good offices to persuade these people to drop this idea. These big landlords, you might be interested to know, claim themselves to be Congressmen.

I may also mention in this connection that the Bankers' Association of the Travancore-Cochin part of Kerala has also taken a decision to boycott the public loan drive which the Govt should have launched towards the end of this month. As you know, we have to raise Rs. 4 crores by way of public loans for finding resources for the current year's Plan. All the States are to float these loans simultaneously. The Reserve Bank has asked us to send them the relevant papers in connection with our loan. We, however, have decided that, in view of this decision of the Bankers' Association, we would not float the loan at present, but would do it after some time. We hope that, by then, a better atmosphere will prevail. At present, the time is too short for us to have that preliminary work which is necessary for the success of the loan.

These are two examples of the methods which are resorted to "paralyse" our administration. The people who resort to it – the big landlords and bankers – are of course dissatisfied with us for the measures which we have introduced – Debt Relief and Agrarian Relations Bills. But they have the support of the Congress which is supposed to be in favour of these measures.

38. V.R. Krishna Iyer to Nehru⁶⁵

[Refer to item 29]

I make this urgent appeal to you in a distressing mood to pull back into national sense those Congress "liberators" of Kerala who are practising a sort of "scorched earth" policy in a spirit, though of anti-communism but of national suicide too. The President of India, and yourself as leader of the Indian nation have passionately pressed for top priority for food production in the nation's activities. I have seen the deep furrows in the face of Shri A.P. Jain wrought by the country's difficult food position and his anxious efforts to augment our resources. A massive drive for larger rice production, I dare say, is a fundamental part of Congress policy in India including Kerala.

Curiously enough, the KPCC President has stated publicly that his party will dissociate from food production drives and other developmental activities launched by the State Govt. My appeal to make the State's food production drive a success was ignored by Congress leaders here. (Copy of my appeal enclosed). But now something far more catastrophic is in the offing. Kuttanad with an extent of a lakh and 20 thousand acres of rice fields is regarded as the granary of Kerala. Many of the leading farmers there (Mostly Congressmen) are likely to be affected by the ceilings fixed by the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill recently passed. There are four main organisations of these landholders, viz. Kuttanad Karshaka Sanghom, Central Kuttanad Karshaka Sanghom, Kari Land Association, Upper Kuttanad Karshaka Sanghom – all under the guidance of the local Congress Party. Under the chairmanship of Shri M.K. Antony (a prominent Congressman), a meeting was convened at which it was decided that no cultivation should be done in the entire Kuttanad area – this means nearly a lakh tons of paddy – till the Communist Government was removed! From the newspapers I understand that a Congress MLA, Shri Thomas John, has presented a memorandum to the Governor that the Communist ministry must be removed so as to create conditions for rice cultivation in the Kuttanad area! All this indicates that the farmers of Kuttanad, probably hitting back against the land legislation put through by the Government, are now threatening an anti-rice production drive to pull down the present ministry. This is the most outrageous, anti-national line I can conceive of in India today. If the Communist Party has to be removed from office, there are methods, violent or peaceful, currently adopted for it. But under no circumstances can they be allowed to starve a whole people by a campaign of anti-production, as it were. Whichever

65. Letter, 20 July 1959, sent from Trivandrum.

party rules in the State, internal production of food should be kept up at the highest level. To permit such perverted means to attain political ends is execrable. That leading Congressmen should help organise this campaign of anti-food production is shocking.

I can only appeal to you, Sir, to drive patriotic production sense into the Kerala leaders with all the national fire in your eyes, which I have seen before. If you raise your powerful voice, I have no doubt that the Karshaka Sanghame referred to by me will beat retreat and perform their elementary national task of merely cultivating the rice fields as in the years gone by. For in the name of anticommunism it is dangerous to permit national disaster.

P.S. I apprehend that if the State Govt. takes steps under the Land Utilisation Order there will be a ballyhoo raised, although Govt. may, in public interest, have to resort to bold steps, even if criticised or misunderstood.

39. K.P.S. Menon to N.R. Pillai⁶⁶

[Refer to item 163]

No. 166.

[1.] N.R. Pillai from K.P.S. Menon.

[2.] My telegram No. 163 dated 16th July Soviet Credit. Proposed announcement accepted by Soviet Government with one change favourable to us, and one addition, explained in para 4 below.

3. Soviet Government have accepted my suggestion that 1500 million Roubles credit might be described in announcement as "an initial offer". Trust you will consider this satisfactory. It serves same purpose as "the ideal" wording suggested by Nehru in para 4 of his telegram No. 323 dated 6th July to Foreign Secretary.⁶⁷

4. Soviet Government have asked that a clause, "in meeting the wishes of the Indian side", be inserted in the second sentence of announcement. I pointed out that this went without saying and followed from the first sentence. Pushkin replied clause was meant to forestall criticisms in some quarters that aid was foisted on India by Soviet Government. Soviet Government were anxious in principle that this clause should be added. Suggest that we agree. Second sentence of announcement will now read: "in meeting the wishes of the Indian

66. Telegram, 20 July 1959, copied to Indian Embassy, Washington D.C., for B.K. Nehru. File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS.

67. See B.K. Nehru to Subimal Dutt, Appendix 14.

side the Soviet Union have made an initial offer of a fresh credit of 1500 million Roubles etc”.

5. Pushkin will informally let us know the date most convenient to Soviet authorities to receive B.K. Nehru.

40. E.M.S. Namboodiripad to Nehru⁶⁸

[Refer to item 38]

I was told when I was in Delhi that the memorandum which the KPCC presented to the President will be handed over by the President to the Home Ministry who, in their turn, will send it to the Governor. I, therefore, naturally thought that, once the copy is received by the Governor from the Home Ministry, we will get an opportunity to reply to the points made in the memorandum before anything is done about it by the Central Cabinet. I, therefore, met the Governor on my return from Delhi and asked him about this. He told me that he himself was expecting some communication from the Home Ministry and that he will send for me after he gets it from the Centre. I have not so far been called by him, presumably because he has not received that communication from the Centre.

I, however, find now that the memorandum has been given to the press by the President of the KPCC. Even at this stage of giving it to the press, the KPCC had not the ordinary courtesy to send a copy of it to me. I had, therefore, to read a copy which I got from some journalist friend.

Now that the whole thing has appeared in the press, we have to give our replies also to the press. We hope to release our reply in a day or two.

I also find that the “documented statement on Kerala submitted to the Hon’ble Speaker of the Lok Sabha in support of the motion for a discussion on Kerala, tabled by Dr K.B. Menon” has now been printed and is being widely circulated. We were under the impression that this document of Dr Menon, as well as our reply to the same, were confidential documents. I do not know how this got to be widely circulated, nor do I know whether those who are responsible for this publication will be proceeded against for breach of privilege. In any case, I am sure that you would agree with me that it is unfair to give wide publicity to Dr Menon’s document without giving the same amount of publicity to our reply to the same.

68. Letter, 21 July 1959, sent from Trivandrum.

41. B.K. Nehru to N.R. Pillai⁶⁹*[Refer to item 163]*

No. 350.

N.R. Pillai from B.K. Nehru.

Your Telegram No. 24309 of 21st July. Soviet Credit.

I confess that I do not like the phrase "In meeting with the wishes of the Indian side". This gives impression we made a specific request. Our theory has been that we have so far not asked for anything from anybody for the Third Plan. The phrase gives the impression we asked one side and not the other. Suggest therefore that if possible the phrase be replaced by "Following these discussions". Russian anxiety to avoid the impression that their aid is being foisted on India is understandable. But their point should be adequately met by the phrase suggested by me as well as by the reference to grateful acceptance by us of their welcome offer.

As for date of publication of the communiqué Thursday, the 30th most suitable from my point of view.

42. N.R. Pillai to K.P.S. Menon⁷⁰*[Refer to item 163]*

No. 24310.

K.P.S. Menon from N.R. Pillai.

Your telegram No. 168 of July 23. Soviet credit. The matter has been considered by Prime Minister.

2. Balancing the different considerations involved, we think that an acceptable solution would be to substitute the phrase "following these discussions and in order to help in meeting India's needs" for "in meeting the wishes of the Indian side" as suggested by the Soviets. Our alternative text would secure the Soviet objective and at the same time meet the point made by B.K. Nehru. We should be glad if you would endeavour to obtain Soviet agreement to this. At the same time we are averse to prolonging this controversy and if our formula is not acceptable to the Soviets, we need not press the matter further.

69. Telegram, Indian Embassy, Washington D.C., to MEA, 22 July 1959, copied to Indian Embassy, Moscow, for K.P.S. Menon. File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS.

70. Telegram, MEA to Indian Embassy, Moscow, 24 July 1959, copied to Indian Embassy, Washington D.C., for B.K. Nehru. File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS.

3. After Prime Minister spoke to me and before I could despatch this telegram the Soviet Ambassador called on me at his request. Speaking of the Soviet credit, among other matters, he explained why his Government thought it necessary to suggest the phrase under discussion. This gave me an opportunity of mentioning our alternative text and I did so pointing out how it would secure the Soviet position while being consistent with our general practices which is to indicate our requirements rather than to make a direct request for assistance. I told him also that this was being put forward in a friendly way and that we would not wish to embarrass the Soviet Government. Benediktov replied that he understood our point and would advise his Government to accept our redraft. You might now kindly follow this up in Moscow and let us know the result.

4. Benediktov said that it was not intended to release the announcement simultaneously in Moscow and that Tass Agency would flash the message from Delhi on publication here. I have promised to let him know the exact date of announcement, when this is settled, and also to supply him with an advance copy of the text as finally agreed.

43. Press Statement of E.M.S. Namboodiripad⁷¹

[Refer to items 41 and 42]

I desire publicly to draw the attention of the Prime Minister of the country, the President of the Congress, and other leaders of the Central Government and of the Congress High Command to the dangerous turn which the "Liberation Movement", headed by the Vimochana Samara Samiti and participated in by political parties including the Congress, has taken during the last few days.

When the movement was started on June 12 and 13, it was stated that it will be completely peaceful and non-violent. Congress leaders including the Prime Minister and the Congress President had stated that the Congress was participating in it with a view to preventing its taking undesirable and violent forms.

The Prime Minister did repeatedly make it clear that he was opposed to any form of direct action, but that he was agreeing, as a matter of compromise, to the "purely token" picketing of one (and of only one) batch of five persons picketing Government offices each day; even this token picketing should gradually be withdrawn. As for the picketing of schools and transports, he was in total opposition to them.

71. 25 July 1959. *New Age*, 2 August 1959.

These clear directives of the Prime Minister were violated not only by the other parties and by the Vimochana Samara Samiti, but by Congressmen themselves. There are innumerable instances of leading Congressmen, including Congress MLAs, activity participating in and helping such anti-social activities as attacks on schools and transports, including attacks on the person of passengers and crew of transports and students and teachers of schools, under the ostensibly innocent garb of "schools and transport picketing".

As for picketing of Government offices being confined to one batch of 5 persons picketing a day, this restriction was never observed anywhere in the State. Dozens of batches each composed of more than five persons picketing an office under the leadership of well-known Congressmen, or mass picketing by 50 or 100 and sometimes even more-again under the leadership of well-known Congressmen-these have been common occurrences.

It was this open violation of the Prime Minister's instructions by the leading members of his own party in Kerala that made me more than once remark that what is really required to-day is that the all-India leadership of the Congress should intervene in the affairs of the Kerala Congress and enforce all-India decisions on its own Kerala Unit.

The leaders of the KPCC and their allies of the Vimochana Samara Samiti were doing all this with the fond hope that such activities would so "paralyse the administration" here that the Ministry would be forced to resign; or in the alternative, the Central Government which, after all, is one working under the guidance of the Congress High Command, would intervene, dismiss this Ministry and establish President's rule. Neither of these hopes, however, has been fulfilled. The Ministry refused to resign. As for the Central Government, the hopes of the Opposition are receding further and further.

Sri Mannath Padmanabhan, the leader of the Vimochana Samara Samiti, and Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai, the leader of the PSP, are known to have come back disillusioned. Sri Pattom has actually made bitter complaints of the "hesitations" on the part of the leaders of the Central Government. As for Sri Mannath Padmanabhan, he has asked his followers not to pin their hopes on Central intervention, but to "act on their own." Sri Mannam, Sri Sankar and a few others have also vaguely talked of the need for "amending the Constitution if the present Constitution does not allow Central intervention in Kerala now."

It would appear that they have all come to realize that, when the Opposition in a particular State starts a movement with the declared objective of paralysing the administration, the Constitution enjoins on the Centre to intervene not against, but in favour of, the State Government. That was probably why Sri Mannam in one of his statements in Delhi said that, if the Centre cannot remove the State ministry, it should at least allow the people of Kerala to act, in which

case, he said, he was confident of "removing the Ministry by the people's forces."

Such a dashing of the hopes entertained by the Vimochana Samara Samiti seems to have made them take to more desperate and violent measures. Sri Mannam is reported to have told his followers that what remains to be done now is to further intensify the struggle, give up all scruples regarding peacefulness and non-violence which may well be left to Congressmen, and that too for talk.

The leadership of the Vimochana Samara Samiti is reported to have taken certain decisions on the ways and means of this intensification of the struggle which are to be discussed and finally adopted at a meeting of the representative of the Taluk Vimochana Samara Samitis being held today at Chenganacherry.

Details of the decision taken by the leadership of the Samiti are not yet available. Yet an inkling of the way in which the minds of the leaders are working may be got from the following facts:

- 1) Attacks on the leaders and members of the Communist Party, as well as non-party people who are opposed to the "Liberation Movement" have been on the increase during the last few days. To take only a few instances of such attacks in and around Trivandrum City, it may be mentioned that Communist MP Sri Easwara Iyer and Communist MLA Sri Sadasivan, Sri Prakasam and Sri Ravindran were attacked while they were travelling by bus or car. A van carrying bundles of copies of the city daily Kerala Kaumudi was also attacked. Attacks on the Communist Party offices and some offices of the SNDP Yogam and other Backward Class organizations have also taken place in various parts of the State.
- 2) Such attacks on the supporters of the Government have led at least to two deaths. One of these was in Trichur District where one Paylappan, reported to be a Communist sympathiser, died on July 22 at the District Hospital, Trichur. He had sustained a stab injury as a result of an attack on him and his companions on the night of July 13/14. The other is also from Trichur where about 26 supporters of the Vimochana Samara Samiti are reported to have trespassed into the house of one Varunny at Ollur in search of his brother, Raphel. Varunny and members of his family are known as Communist sympathisers. Aliya, Varunny's father's sister, an old woman, who was laid up is alleged to have been thrown down from the verandah to the courtyard by three of the attackers and died as a result of the shock.

These are only two incidents of actual deaths, while there are hundreds of instances of the allegedly peaceful and non-violent volunteers of the "Liberation Movement" assaulting and seriously injuring the sympathisers of the Communist Party.

3) A series of incidents have been reported from various places where armed bands are moving about harassing the people, and when there is a possibility of the police party arriving, preventing their arrival through laying of obstruction on the road, demolition of roads and culverts, etc.

The latest of such incidents is that from Chengannur where yesterday the local authorities received reports of obstruction having been put in several places on the National Highway between Chengannur and Tiruvella. A police patrol party detailed to attend them found that there were several barricades erected between the 73rd and 74th mile stones. Meanwhile, information was received that some bridges on the roads were also being demolished.

A police party headed by the Circle Inspector which proceeded to the scene found that the bridge was barricaded with big boulders and stones displaced from the parapet wall on the one side which had been entirely demolished for the purpose. The action of the police party to remove these obstructions attracted big crowds who began to pelt stones and to try to encircle the police party. They had to fire two rounds in self-defence, though fortunately there was no casualty.

4) Picketing of Government offices is also taking more violent forms. It is worthy of mention here that on July 22 when a batch of 70 picketers was led by ex-Chief Minister Sri T.K. Narayanan Pillai and others and when their picketing was over another batch of nearly 500 women collected in front of the Collectorate and started mass picketing and tried to force entry into the Collectorate. It is reported that Sri Narayanan Pillai and other Congress leaders themselves told these new batch of picketers that the day's quota of picketing was over and that they should, therefore, disperse. It was against this advice that the crowd of picketers tried to force entry. The police had to resort to a lathi charge to disperse the crowd.

“Ruthless Repression” Cry

This and the next day's lathi charge on the RSP picketers have been made much of as instances of “ruthless repression” resorted to by the Government. Those who make this charge, however, forget that the organizers of this picketing make no secret of their intention of “capturing the Collectorate.” As a matter of fact, four days previous to this incident, a crowd of picketers forced entry into the Collectorate and even put the flag of the PSP alongside the State flag in the Collectorate building. This is not an isolated incident, but should be seen in the context of the repeated calls of the leaders of the “Liberation Movement,” to “capture Government

offices including Secretariat.”

5) Two incidents, one of which happened yesterday afternoon and the other this morning are symptomatic of the way in which the “Liberation Struggle” is likely to be “intensified.” The first of these incidents happened at Chemmanattukara, three miles away from Vaikom in Kottayam District, where at about 3.15 pm yesterday some 500 persons, under the leadership of Sri Kurumpashakkal Pailey, an advocate, and armed sticks and daggers assembled in front of a Lower Primary School and assaulted some Communist sympathisers of the place.

When the Inspector of Police and an armed police party reached the place, the crowd ran away, but the police party chased them and arrested 43 of the rioters. Nine sticks, three metal rods and two daggers were recovered from the arrested persons. Five Communist sympathisers were reported to have received injuries, one of them with a serious injury.

The other incident was that four unknown persons sealed the walls at one corner of the Secretariat building, threw a lighted torch on one of the thatched sheds in the Secretariat compound housing the offices of the Director of Public Relations. The night watchman on duty detected it and called for the help of the fire engine but the miscreants had in the meanwhile run away. The timely arrival of the fire engine prevented the huge destruction that had obviously been planned, but a part of the thatched shed has been destroyed.

I would like to ask the Prime Minister, the Congress President, and other leaders of the Central Government and of the Congress High Command, what they would do if such acts of violence and destruction were committed in other States by the Opposition parties there. I am sure that, if even five per cent of this had been done by the Opposition in other States, the heavy hand of the State and Central Government would fall on them. Here, however, is a state where their own party is aiding and abetting these anti-social activities while the Congress High Command is charging the State Government with “ruthless repression.”

I would ask the Prime Minister and other leaders of the Central Government: Are we not entitled to the same protection at your hands against these miscreants and instigators of violence and disorder as you have been giving to other State Governments. Are we to be denied this protection, simply because our Government happens to be one formed by a Party different from yours?

44. M.J. Desai to Nehru⁷²*[Refer to item 154]*

Please see FRs and S. Nos 1⁷³ and 2.⁷⁴

2. The approach of the Pakistan Foreign Secretary is facile and propagandist. We should, however, counter this with constructive proposals. I propose to send the attached letter to our High Commissioner.

3. There have been recent developments in the Dawki region of Assam where Pakistan border authorities have been intensifying their aggressive activities. This matter was discussed in the Ministry of Defence and I will be submitting a separate note with necessary sketches to P.M. with suggestions for counteraction against Pakistan aggressive activities.

4. The letter to the High Commissioner may, however, issue so that counteraction by military measures may not be necessary if Pakistan authorities agree to the Chief Secretaries' meeting or a meeting between the two Secretaries assisted by the Chief Secretaries of the State Governments concerned where an attempt can be made to stop Pakistan aggressive activities in these border regions.

5. We will, however, meanwhile make necessary preparations to counter the Pakistan aggressive activities by force, if necessary, and proposals in this connection will be submitted separately in a couple of days.

45. N.R. Pillai to M.C. Chagla⁷⁵*[Refer to item 170]*

Shortly before Ellsworth Bunker went on leave, the Prime Minister had a talk with him, in the course of which the Prime Minister said that what continued

72. Note, 26 July 1959. File No. 3/114/59-BL, MEA.

73. Ikramullah, the Pakistan Foreign Secretary, proposed that both sides should refrain from firing under any circumstances, including self-defence. Dayal wrote to MEA on 19 July that India might agree in principle, and the Chief Secretaries' conference could work out the details. File No. 3/114/59-BL, MEA.

74. Pillai replied to Dayal on 20 July that MEA agreed, but Dayal should wait to reply to Ikramullah until the views of the West Bengal and Assam Governments had been ascertained. File No. 3/114/59-BL, MEA.

75. Letter, 27 July 1959. Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, Historical Division, *Notes, Memoranda and Decisions of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, September 1946-May 1964*, Vol. III, U.S. Military Assistance to Pakistan, January 1959-May 1964, p. 17.

to bedevil relations between India and the U.S. was the U.S. Government's programme of military aid to Pakistan. To illustrate his point that equipment supplied to Pakistan was often of a type which could primarily be used only against India, the Prime Minister referred to a report we had received that some hundreds of amphibious military vehicles had been supplied to Pakistan by the U.S.

A few weeks ago the Prime Minister received a letter from Ellsworth Bunker to say that he had made inquiries in the matter in Washington and had been assured that no amphibious vehicles had been supplied to Pakistan by the U.S.

In view of Bunker's categorical denial, we have had further detailed inquiries made, and we have received credible information that some 450 armoured personnel carriers, FT F59, have been supplied to Pakistan under the U.S. Military Aid. These carriers are probably not formally described as amphibious vehicles, but our experts are clear that they are both powerful enough and well-conditioned to cross the rivers on the Indo-Pakistan border.

You might find this information of value, and might wish to use it discreetly in your talks with the competent authorities in the U.S.

(Background Note)
Armoured Infantry Vehicle, M59

The Armoured Infantry vehicle, M59, is the latest answer in armoured personnel carriers and is now standard for armoured combat elements. The M59 is a full-tracked vehicle with mobility equal to that of the tank. It provides all around protection to both the crew and passengers from small arms fire and overhead artillery fire. In this vehicle, troops ride comfortably and safely. Speed of debarkation is facilitated by a large rear ramp.

Not only does the M59 meet those basic needs of the commander, but a few other desirable features are provided to aid the commander in his employment of this vehicle. They are:

- (1) Unobstructed cargo/passenger-compartment access by means of a large ramp in the rear of the vehicle, or a small door when the ramp closed.
- (2) Unlimited ford ability without additional preparation.
- (3) Capability of carrying up to 3,100 pounds of cargo over water.

The M59 can serve as a most efficient and neatly compact command post which can be placed in operation of move with a minimum of preparation. The employment of the M59 is conducive to many and varied operations. Concisely, here are the capabilities of the armoured infantry vehicle, M59:

Crew

Two

Passengers	. . .	Ten, Fully equipped One caliber-50 M.G. One Calibre.45 Sub-Machine Gun
Weight	. . .	38, 700 lbs.
Length	. . .	215 inches
Height	. . .	98 inches
Width	. . .	128 ½ inches
Ground pressure	. . .	7.1 psi
Ground clearance	. . .	18 inches
Width of track	. . .	21 inches
Type suspension	. . .	Torsion bar
Payload (waterborne)	. . .	3,100 pounds
Maximum speed	. . .	Low range – 12 m.p.h. on Land. High range – 32 m.p.h. on Land. 4.3 m.p.h. on water
Cruiser range	. . .	120 miles (approx.)
Fuel consumption	. . .	1 m.p.g.
Fuel tank capacity	. . .	130 gallons
Maximum grade ascending ability	. . .	60%
Width of ditch vehicle will cross	. . .	66 inches
Maximum vertical wall climbing ability	. . .	18 inches

46. K.P.S. Menon to N.R. Pillai⁷⁶

[Refer to item 163]

No. 172.

N.R. Pillai from K.P.S. Menon.

My telegram No. 171 July 25th. Soviet Credit.

2. Soviet Government has given its agreement to revised text. Pushkin told me that his Government fully understood our attitude.

76. Telegram, Indian Embassy, Moscow, to MEA, 27 July 1959, copied to Indian Embassy, Washington D.C., for B.K. Nehru. File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS.

47. Mir Osman Ali to Nehru⁷⁷

[Refer to item 16]

As you are aware, when my Private Estate (Sarf-e-Khas) was handed over to the Government of Hyderabad, I took on myself, as the Head of the Family, the obligation of the State of Hyderabad to make suitable provision in the State Budget on account of the Civil Lists of the two Princes, the two grandsons and my step-brother, amounting to Rs. 25 lakhs per annum. For the members of my family and other dependents, I created several trusts on a permanent footing from my private sources, in accordance with the position and dignity of each member of my family. I have also created a Charitable Trust with a corpus of nearly rupees five crores to provide relief to the poor, support of religious institutions, provision of medical aid, advancement of education and for any other object of public utility in India in general and particularly for the people in this State. In doing so, I utilised all my surplus resources, on the assumption that my Privy Purse and the amount received from the Government, in lieu of Sarf-e-Khas, would be sufficient for my limited personal requirements during my life-time, and for supporting nearly 10,000 employees who were formerly dependent on my income from Sarf-e-Khas.

2. When my Sarf-e-Khas lands were taken over by the former Hyderabad Government, there was no other tax except the income-tax, and my total annual income was sufficient for my personal requirements and those of my dependents.

3. Since the last three years, I am called upon to pay nearly Rs. 12 lakhs per annum by way of Wealth-tax, and almost the same amount as Expenditure-tax. The support of nearly 10,000 employees of the former Sarf-e-Khas which has fallen on my shoulders completely exhausts my income from Privy Purse etc. and I have no other alternative but to pay all taxes by creating an overdraft on my bank account. This overdraft, after payment of taxes for the current year, would exceed rupees one crore, and it would be difficult for me to ask for further credit from the bank for payment of my future taxes.

4. I appreciate that I am not the only Ruler who pays these taxes, and I would not, in the ordinary course, expect the Government to show any special concession in my case, which has not been granted to other Rulers. Realising this position, I have tried my best, during the last three years, to dispose of my properties in Hyderabad, with the exception of certain palaces which are not saleable and which are of sentimental value to me and are also of historical importance. For the same reason, out of the four properties situated outside

77. Letter, 27 July 1959.

Hyderabad, the "Sabe Palace" at Calcutta was sold to Government about two years ago, and my houses in Ooty and Mahabaleshwar are also for sale. I would however, like to retain my Bombay property, known as "Persepolis", situated on Mount Pleasant Road, Bombay, as the sea climate suits me very well and I may be required, in my advancing age, to stay there occasionally for reasons of health. I am, however, hesitating to do so on account of the additional burden of Wealth-tax which I have to pay on this property at the rate of Rs. 36,000/- per annum, in addition to the municipal and other taxes amounting to Rs. 18,000/-.

5. As three of my properties, two in Hyderabad and one at Ooty, are exempt from payment of income-tax, I had requested that similar concessions should be shown to me in respect of Wealth-tax, as these properties do not fetch any income and have been retained by me only on account of their sentimental value and historical importance; but after prolonged correspondence, only one property, namely Falaknuma Palace, was exempted from payment of Wealth-tax and I have how to pay Wealth-tax at the rate of 2% on all other properties, including the "Persepolis" property in Bombay.

6. I, therefore, request that, in addition to the "Falaknuma Palace", the "Persepolis" property in Bombay may also be exempted from payment of Wealth-tax, as a special case, on the basis of the exemption enjoyed by me from payment of income-tax in respect of three of my properties. It cannot be said that this concession, if granted, would create an undesirable precedent for other Rulers, as, in the matter of income-tax, only one palace has been exempted for other Rulers, whereas in my case three palaces, two in Hyderabad and one in Ooty, have been excluded for income-tax purposes.

7. I may add that I have received a definite offer for the purchase of "Persepolis", and if Government do not see their way to grant me this small exemption, I shall be compelled to dispose of the property. I, therefore, request that Government's decision in this matter may kindly be communicated to me within a reasonable time, as I have to give a definite reply to the intending purchaser before the 10th August, 1959.

48. K.D. Malaviya to Nehru⁷⁸

[Refer to item 167]

July 30, 1959

My dear Jawaharlalji,

The Russian Ambassador, Mr. Benediktov, saw me day before yesterday and we discussed several problems in connection with our difficulties in oil exploration, supply of equipment from U.S.S.R. and the latest about our refinery negotiations. He gave me the information about the Russian credit assistance for the 3rd Five Year Plan and supplied me the information that I did not possess i.e. a sum of Rs. 180 crores is being proposed for our industrial plan from their side. His presumption about this help was that we would like to set apart a decent sum from this for our oil programme. He suggested that we might make up our mind as to how much of this help we would like to make for the programme such as the exploration side, manufacturing, supply of equipments and refining. He said that he would be grateful to us for letting them know about our intentions in this connection in order to enable them to plan for their production and arranging necessary carriage etc. from now on. I welcomed the idea and told him that our Government will give full consideration to this. I learnt from this morning's paper that a credit of Rs. 180 crores has been promised to us for the 3rd Plan by the Russians. In view of the special importance of this credit proposal and its bearing on the oil industry I thought it was better if I have the full information about it. On hearing from you I will take up this matter informally with the Planning Commission to find out what their intentions are. There is sufficient time for such considerations, but I think we had better start working on it.

Yours affectionately,
Keshava Deva Malaviya

78. Letter. File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS. Also available in K.D. Malaviya Papers, NMML, and JN Collection.

49. Subimal Dutt to Nehru⁷⁹*[Refer to item 174]*

Prime Minister may kindly see paragraphs 7, 8 and 9 of Shri R.K. Nehru's letter of July 12, flagged W. These deal with the question of our permitting an Arab League office to be opened in New Delhi. The position is explained in the summary flagged G. In this context Prime Minister may kindly see my note of May 22, 1957, and his minute of the same date, flagged C. He should also see my letter of May 23, 1957, to Shri Ali Yavar Jung (flag D) and the latter's reply dated April 30, 1958, flagged L.

2. It is obvious that the Arab League is not quite satisfied with our reply to their request. It is true that the Arab League has opened an Information Centre in New York and registered it with the US Government. Our Permanent Delegation at the United Nations have informed us that this office issues periodical publications, arranges lectures and television and radio talks and projects Arab views on controversial political matters. The Arab League office has a consultative status with the United Nations European Office at Geneva, but it functions under the official Yemen Representative who is the Permanent Observer of the Arab League. In that capacity the Arab League staff obtains diplomatic privileges.

3. For various reasons the Arab countries have had the feeling, of late, that India is not as sympathetic towards their aims and aspirations as she was before. Much of this misunderstanding arises from our alleged softness towards Israel. I do not suggest that we should depart from our policy in regard to our relations with Israel. At the same time, if by making some concession to the Arab feeling we can give them some satisfaction, I feel that we should do so. Our main fear is that the Arab League office will indulge in active anti-French and anti-Israel propaganda in India. But we have already allowed an Algerian office to function informally at Delhi. This office issues a large amount of literature on Algeria vehemently criticising French policy and French actions. The Arab representatives in Delhi also issue anti-Israeli statements in their bulletins. It therefore occurs to me that an Arab League office cannot do much more harm even if it is allowed to function independently.

4. On balance, therefore, my advice would be to permit the Arab League to open an office here. We should make it clear that the staff of the office will not be entitled to any diplomatic status unless, as in Geneva, the office functions formally as part of an Arab embassy in Delhi. Further, we might make it clear

79. Note, 31 July 1959. File No. 11 (12)-WANA/59, MEA.

that we would expect the office to concentrate mainly on cultural and other matters, and express the hope that the office will not do anything which would embarrass us in our relations with other friendly countries.

50. E.M.S. Namboodiripad to Nehru⁸⁰

[Refer to item 43]

I received yesterday the message which you conveyed to me through the Governor. I need not tell you how concerned we ourselves have been at the situation here. That was why we requested you to use your good offices to bring the situation here back to normalcy. You, however, thought that restoration of normalcy requires of you to take a course which, I need not repeat, we do not consider the proper course. This is not the occasion for me to elaborate the point. I am herewith forwarding to you the full text of the statement which I issued yesterday.

May I take this opportunity to convey to you my gratitude and the gratitude of my colleagues in the Ministry for the consideration you have shown to us during the last 28 months. I hope to see you some time later and discuss with you whatever aspects of the Kerala problem or other problems which you want to discuss with me.

51. Balbir Singh to N. Sahgal⁸¹

[Refer to item 137]

Intelligence Bureau
(Ministry of Home Affairs)
Government of India.

New Delhi, the 4th November 1959

My Dear Sahgal,⁸²

Kindly refer to my demi-official letter No. 1/ESP(U)/59 (15) dated the 6th October, 1959, regarding the alleged sale in Delhi of unauthorised editions of late Maulana Azad's books.

80. Letter, 1 August 1959, sent from Trivandrum.

81. Letter. File No. 41/9/59-Poll (I).

82. Joint Secretary, MHA.

2. Enquiries have revealed that the following unauthorised editions are on sale in Delhi:

1. Khutbat-e-Azad.
2. Masla Khilafat.
3. Tahriq Azadi
4. Ghubar-i-Khatir.
5. Tazkara Maulana Azad.
6. Insaniat Maut Ke Darwaze par.
7. Naqash Azad, foreword by Ghulam Rasul Mehr.

3. A close examination of the binding of certain books has established that the books have actually been published and bound locally in Delhi.

4. It is understood that there is no agreement between India and Pakistan on the exchange of copy-right on books. Taking advantage of this many unscrupulous publishers in India and Pakistan have published the books of the writers of the other country without paying any royalty to the writers. Maulana Azad's books appear to be no exception to this. Besides, some publishers of Pakistan are reported to have edited a number of books by selecting Maulana Azad's essays from the journals 'Al Hilal' and 'Al Balagh'.

5. No copyright is said to exist in the cases of the books mentioned at Sr. Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

6. Regarding Ghubar-i-Khatir, mentioned at serial No. 4 above, it is learnt that some publishers of Nai Sarak, Delhi, have published an unauthorised edition of this book which is in circulation in the market. Without giving Maulana Azad's name; they have given the name of 'Azad Hind Publications' Lahore, as Publishers. It is also reported that this edition was published in the life time of Maulana Azad and he was in the know of it. Side by side another edition of the book, which was actually printed in Pakistan and published by 'Anarkali Kitab Ghar' Lahore, is in circulation in Urdu Bazar, Delhi.

7. It is further learnt that a volume of 'Insaniat Maut Ke Darwaze Par' which was originally compiled and published by the Pakistan Publishers by selecting Maulana Azad's essays from his journal 'Al Hilal' and 'Al Balagh' has recently been published unauthorisedly by the Proprietor of Maktaba-e-Rangeen, Ganj Mir Khan, Suiwalan, Delhi.

8. I may, however, add that this report is based on secret enquiries, and is subject to limitations.

Yours sincerely,
Balbir Singh

52. N. Sahgal to the Ministry of Law⁸³

[Refer to item 137]

Shri Nooruddin Ahmed complained in July 1959 to P.M. that almost all the Urdu works of the late Maulana Azad were being printed and published in an unauthorised manner by several publishers of Lahore and Karachi. He added that nearly all the booksellers of Urdu Bazar, Delhi, had received large stocks of these unauthorised publications which were being sold freely in Indian markets. He accordingly requested that action should be taken to deal with the culprits according to the law for smuggling or printing without authority. P.M. in his reply informed Shri Nooruddin Ahmed that a well-known Publishing House in Karachi (perhaps the Taj Publishing House) had written to P.M. previously in regard to the publication of Maulana Saheb's books in Pakistan. They had pointed out that unauthorised editions were being issued and asked for the sole authority to publish the books and to deal with those who were bringing them out without permission. P.M. had referred the matter to Shri Humayun Kabir who had consulted the heirs of the late Maulana Saheb. P.M. had been given to understand that the Taj Publishing House had been given the authority they desired on certain terms and had also been permitted to proceed against unauthorised publishers. P.M. appreciated that he did not think that the Home Ministry could take any steps about books that are published without authority and the heirs or their authorised agents alone could do so. The Home Ministry were, however, directed to prevent, as far as possible, the import of these unauthorised publications from Pakistan.

2. We referred the matter to the Central Board of Revenue since the question of import of the books from Pakistan was involved. The Central Board of Revenue have observed that the import of books, periodicals and newspapers from Pakistan to India is allowed under Schedule 'B' of the Indo-Pakistan Trade Agreement (1957-60), and under I.T.C. Schedule I S. No. (170), Part IV, import is allowed under licence. The Customs authorities can detain the publications in question only if the owner of the Copy Rights moves in the matter. Enquiries made by the Directorate of Revenue Intelligence reveal that practically no books are being imported as trade goods and that they are perhaps coming in as gift parcels without licences. The Customs authorities have issued instructions to all the Collectors of Central Excise concerned to alert their staff regarding the import of books written by Maulana Saheb either as gift parcels or through post-offices without proper I.T.C. licences. Shri Nooruddin Ahmed

83. Note, 17 November 1959. File No. 41/9/59-Poll I, MHA.

has been advised by the Directorate of Revenue Intelligence to lodge a complaint with the Collector of Central Excise, Delhi, if any infringement of the Copy Rights has taken place. Shri Nooruddin Ahmed has stated that no Copy Rights were given by the late Maulana Saheb to any publisher either in India or in Pakistan and that he is the owner of the works of the late Maulana Azad.

3. The position thus would be that it is for Shri Nooruddin Ahmed to file a complaint to the Collector of Central Excise, Delhi. They (Customs) have also issued the necessary instructions to the Collectors of Central Excise concerned. It would obviously not be feasible to ban the import into India of all the works of the late Maulana Saheb. Not only that would create a very wrong impression but it would also be difficult to enforce. There is also no reason why books that have been legitimately published e.g. by the Taj Publishing House, Karachi, should not find a way into India under proper licence. The entire question seems to be one of infringement of Copy Rights and as P.M. has observed this is a matter which should be taken up by the heirs or the authorised agents. Since Shri Nooruddin Ahmed states that he is the owner of the works of the late Maulana Azad, it is for him to move in the matter. He has already been suitably advised in this regard.

4. The Amritsar Customs have detained some books said to have been written by Maulana Saheb and the suggestion has been made that they should be examined by the Home Ministry to see whether they are authorised versions. This will involve a great deal of labour and word for word comparison with the original works. It would seem that here also it is really for the owner of the Copy Rights of the original works to pursue the question.

5. The Ministry of Law may kindly see this file urgently for any comments they may wish to make.

17-11-1959

(N. Sahgal)

Joint Secretary

GLOSSARY

(Including abbreviations and names of places)

ADC	aide-de-camp
AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIR	All India Radio
Anna	one-sixteenth of a Rupee
Bangalore	Bengaluru
BDO	Block Development Officer
Bhabhi	elder brother's wife
Bhaiji	refers to Motilal Nehru
BOC	Burma Oil Company
Bombay City	Mumbai
Burma	Myanmar
CSIR	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research
Calcutta	Kolkata
Cambay	Khambhat
Ceylon	Sri Lanka
Cft	cubic feet
Cochin	Kochi
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPP	Congress Party in Parliament/Congress Parliamentary Party
Crore	ten million
CSO	Central Statistical Organisation
CSWB	Central Social Welfare Board
DVC	Damodar Valley Corporation
Dacca	Dhaka

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

DMK	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
East Germany	German Democratic Republic
East Pakistan	Bangladesh
FICCI	Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
FR	Fresh Receipt
FS	Foreign Secretary
Gauhati	Guwahati
GOI	Government of India
Goonda	a ruffian
Hakim	practitioner of the Unani system of medicine
I&P	[Ministry of] Irrigation and Power
IAF	Indian Air Force
ICS	Indian Civil Service
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
J&K	Jammu and Kashmir
Jana Gana Mana	the opening words of the National Anthem
JN	Jawaharlal Nehru
JS	Joint Secretary
Jullundur	Jalandhar
KW	kilowatt
Karma Samiti	Executive Council of Visva-Bharati University
KPCC	Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee
Lakh	one hundred thousand
LIC	Life Insurance Corporation of India
Lt	Lieutenant
maf	million acre feet
Madras City	Chennai
Madras State	Tamil Nadu
Mannam	Mannath Padmanabhan
Maulana	a title among Muslims, meaning a learned person
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly

MP	Member of Parliament
Mysore State	Karnataka
NBT	National Book Trust
NCC	National Cadet Corps
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
O&M	Organisation and Management
ONGC	Oil and Natural Gas Commission
Ooty	Ootacamund
Orissa	Odisha
PCC	Pradesh Congress Committee
PO	Post Office
Panch	one of the elected representatives of a village council
Pandit	a learned person; a Brahman
Peking	Beijing
PIB	Press Information Bureau
PM	Prime Minister
POK	Pakistan Occupied Kashmir
Poona	Pune
PPS	Principal Private Secretary
Prayag	Allahabad
PRO	Public Relations Officer
PS	Private Secretary
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
Pt	Pandit
PUC	Paper Under Consideration
PWD	Public Works Department
RSP	Revolutionary Socialist Party
SGPC	Sikh Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee
SRU	Special Reorganisation Unit
SSC	Secondary School Certificate
Sadar-i-Riyasat	Head of State of Jammu and Kashmir

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Samsad	Court of Visva-Bharati University
Sarpanch	head of a village council
Shrimati	a title of respect used before the name of a woman
Simla	Shimla
SNDP Yogam	Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam
Soviet Union	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
SS	Special Secretary
SWJN/FS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, First Series</i>
SWJN/SS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, Second Series</i>
TC	Travancore-Cochin
TCM	Technical Cooperation Mission (of USA)
Taluk	territorial subdivision of a district
TASS	Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union
Tazia	A representation of Ali's tomb made of wood bamboo and tinsel
Trivandrum	Thiruvananthapuram
UPSC	Union Public Service Commission
UAR	United Arab Republic
UGC	University Grants Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPCC	Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee
USA	United States of America
Usar	Sterile or saline land
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Vidhayak	legislator
Vimochana Samara Samiti	liberation struggle committee
VIP	Very Important Person
West Germany	Federal Republic of Germany
Yuvaraj	heir apparent

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